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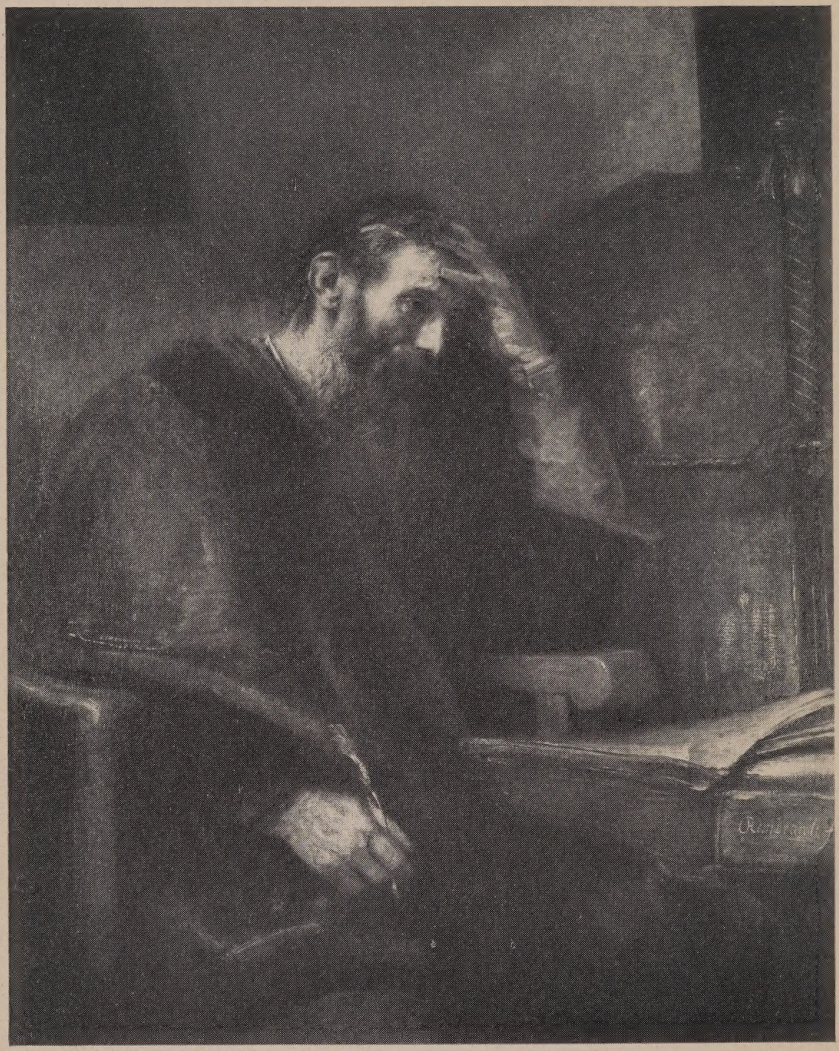
Saint Paul, envoy of grace

GREAT WRITERS OF THE WORLD

SAINT PAUL: ENVOY OF GRACE



THE APOSTLE PAUL

From a painting by Rembrandt, in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C. Widener Collection

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SAINT PAUL:

ENVOY OF GRACE

By

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R. E. G. George

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To the memory of my father and mother
whose bequests gave me the opportunity
to write this book

I am grieved and pained that all men do not know this man as they ought to know him; but some are so far ignorant of him as not even to know the number of his epistles . . . . . It is not through any natural readiness or sharpness of wit that even I know as much as I do—if indeed I do know anything—but owing to a constant drawing towards him and an earnest affection.—ST. CHRYSOSTOM, Proem to Homilies on the Epistle to the Romans.

PREFACE

FOR MORE YEARS THAN I CAN THINK I HAVE BEEN FASCINATED by St. Paul as the first and greatest of Christian writers. This is an attempt to profit by experience as biographer, as critic, as historian to tell his story in the words of our time, and survey with a layman's eye the result of a hundred years of scholarship, not unmixed with controversy.

In this last hundred years since Lewin wrote his excellent life, much has been discovered: but also there have been put forward many conjectures which—however flattering to their authors' combination of ingenuity with learning—cannot rank as established facts. The latest views are not always the most convincing. The broad lines of St. Paul's life and work are known: but there are periods at which we can only guess. Compelled to discriminate between various suggestions, I have sought to show in the notes, when not in the narrative, what the alternatives are. I have been compelled to choose between them: but I do not claim authority, nor write as a controversialist.

The guide of my judgment is the belief that the books of the New Testament are, as documents, more important than the theories of critics about them. That is the conviction of the majority of those who care to read the Bible: a conviction supported by much research, by the power of faith, and by the survival and spread of the Church. It receives support from the lay historian.

The story is meant to interest the layman as it stands. Notes and bibliography will suggest the relation to sources which to the specialist have an interest of their own: but my aim is to follow the design of one of those sacred Hebrew historians who preceded St. Paul.

"To stand upon every point," he said, "and go over things at large, and to be curious in particulars, belongeth to the first author of the story:

"But to use brevity, and avoid much labouring of the work, is to be granted to him that will make an abridgement.

"Here then will we begin the story: only adding thus much to that which hath been said, that it is a foolish thing to make a long prologue, and to be short in the story itself."[1]

[1] II Maccabees ii. 30-32.

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PROEM

IN THE SUNSHINE, THE COLOUR, THE VERDURE AND THE CONtours which make the Mediterranean shores a palace of light, there lived from two to three thousand years ago a company of imperishable genius.

Built in stone, in brick, in marble, their monuments, bridges, arches, baths, courts and temples combined elegance with grandeur. Their poets left masterpieces telling of adventure, passion, rivalry, triumph and doom: their philosophers peered into the secrets of thought and of idealism: their sculptors lent to marble the lines and proportions of the naked body: their historians and poets wrote of brave men and high events in apt, sounding and pregnant words: their orators argued the rights of citizenship: their captains conquered empires: their rulers governed by wise laws. Yet—among all their men of genius, none has affected such a number of men, none has been so closely scrutinised from century to century by the scholar, none has been recognised as so intimate, so moving, so august as a Cilician Jew who came among their triumphs with other thoughts, and was often jailed by their police.

Why do his words echo more insistently than theirs? Why does he leave a more vivid impression? The truth is that his personal adventures were more dramatic, his inner experiences both deeper and more distinct: and, as for his ideas, they proved to have such a power over culture, over good men, and even over the masses of the people, that they were able finally to dissolve the Roman ways of thought and take their place.

Nor was this all. This man's life was finely staged. Before he was slain by the sword outside the walls of Rome, he had passed through scene on scene which rivals her majesty. Rome to us is the exordium to the blue gulfs, the white mountains and the lambent marbles of Hellas. Among them he travelled.

He knew the eternal summer of the Isles of Greece. He heard the memorable names. But, a Cilician, he spent most of his years in the Levant. He knew in Syria the snows of Hermon, the gorges of the Lebanon, the dryness of the desert, the anemone scarlet in the spring, the groves of palms, the patronising calm of camels. The central city of his interests was the walled city none forgets, the city on a hill, whose name means peace—Jerusalem. Through these gilded scenes, ringing with evocative names and fanned with living airs, he passed from danger to danger. Yet none of his adventures is so absorbing as the story of his heart, and in self-revelation none approached him. For he was constrained and urged by a great love; he was absorbed in the sense of living in a presence that disturbed him with the joy of elevated thoughts; his trials and perils worked in him, as he himself wrote, from extreme to extreme, a solid weight of glory.

To estimate his greatness, the assessment of the judge is out of place. His power is over those who understand him: their feeling is the veneration of a worshipper, the gratitude of men overcome by their sense of blessing.

The vividness of his personality he set down with a directness all his own; which could become, when his excitement soared, fine art. Among the most eminent of his age, his spirit rises lofty as the cypress above olive and almond in a garden of the Rome which was his final dwelling place, imperial as Rome over the provinces she subdued. Yet he insisted that the mystery of his power was not his own. He lived obscurely; habitually, he earned his living by the craft of his hands; and when he spoke to his followers, spoke not as having dominion over their faith but as a sharer in their joy.

NOTE.—The names of places are in the form in use to-day: the names of people in the classic forms except in the figures so great and so familiar that we know them as our own.

[The two following chapters sketch first the Roman Empire in the time of Augustus, and then the position and life of the Jews at that time. A reader interested only in the personal narrative need not brook the delay; he can pass direct to Chapter III. But for those seeking a fuller understanding, the two backgrounds are given here rather than later.]

I

IN THE GRECO-ROMAN WORLD

1

A JEWISH BOY GROWING UP IN ANY COUNTRY OF THE MODERN world is hardly more aware of the religion and pride of his race than of the world-power to which he is subject. A young Israelite in the time of Augustus could not ignore the Greco-Roman civilisation. While the Jews as a whole brought their contribution into the Empire, they accepted its civilisation. Since we are considering a Jew who was a Roman citizen and a traveller, we must have some idea of the imperial consummation as a whole.

Julius Caesar had inaugurated for Rome a new epoch. "The stake for which he played was nothing less than the mastery of the world."[1] His eye not only pierced the murk of the North: but after defeating at Pharsala Pompey, who had conquered Jerusalem in B.C.63, he made terms with the Jewish princes.

At his death, Mark Antony, having secured his papers and his funds, had joined Lepidus and Augustus and divided the Empire with them. He then came to Ephesus in Asia Minor as a luxurious, genial and splendid governor. He summoned to meet him the enchanting queen, half Macedonian, half Greek (with a touch of the Iranian), who was reigning in Egypt as Cleopatra VII. Their meeting-place was Tarsus, the capital of Cilicia. It shared with Athens and Alexandria the attractions of a Hellenistic university: it was a centre of trade with the East through Damascus and Palmyra, as well as with the ports of the Levant. It was built on the banks of a sparkling river. A line of peaks, the Taurus, sheltered it from the northern winds.

Subtle and sympathetic as a ruler, her charm glittering with the brilliance of her mind, Cleopatra employed every device of colour, perfume, music, picturesqueness to impress the tastes and genius of Antony; and Tarsus received favours from a pair it could not forget. Before Antony fell in B.C.31, he had organised the Levant.[2] He had treated with the Jewish king, Herod, and made him a tributary of the Roman power. This had an urgent importance for every Jew in Tarsus who, whether or not he had received Roman citizenship, was a subject of the Emperor.

2

And who was this Emperor? After the defeat and death of Antony, Augustus prepared the shining lands of the Mediterranean for the culmination of his reign. He aimed at founding an ideal constitution and died in the hope that his foundation would endure.[3] His birth was hailed as that of a Saviour inaugurating a new age. From Cologne to Dendera, from the damp farms of Cumberland to the palms and temples of the Tigris, his Empire enjoyed what Pliny was to call "the boundless majesty of the Roman peace".[4] After the struggles with barbarians, and the distress of civil war, men in their gratitude venerated the central power. Augustus inherited the worship which three hundred years before had been given to Alexander, to Jupiter Ammon, to Antiochus Epiphanes. Nor was this veneration without cause. The central principle of order emanating from Rome in edicts, rescripts, mandates and despatches, established justice, built roads, maintained communications by sea as well as by land,[5] administered colonies, promoted commerce, showed itself generous to subject peoples, and brought down the proud. It realised one aspect of the gilded hope which

Virgil in the year B.C.40 hymned to the names of Pollio and Apollo. From the Mediterranean, under the pressure of Roman flotillas, pirates vanished. To quote Velleius, an officer of the time, "agriculture returned to the fields, respect to religion, to mankind security of possession, old laws were carefully amended, new laws enacted for the general good".[6]

Yet though the base of business was then as always the farm or the workshop, merchants, and some speculators, made fortunes; for Jewish aptitudes now found their opportunity.

The variety of the Empire was amalgamated into one. "The savours," said Pliny, "mingle together".[7] The peculiar Roman character was conquered by its own triumph. The goddesses of Egypt, and the indulgences of the Levant, combined with the spiritual philosophy of Greece[8] to give new qualities to the Roman, the Greek and the Jew. Yet, while some cultivated ideals, many indulged vices.

3

The Romans followed the Greeks in fostering social standards when local patriotism vaunted the claims of Tarsus as of each particular city. The young Jew could see how, throughout the whole Empire, municipal life could develop freely, and every city was encouraged to maintain a standard of cleanliness, of sanitation and of town planning. He saw that the streets were built straight and wide; like those of the highroads their surfaces were paved: conduits and pipes brought fresh water to the houses, drains carried the swill away.[9]

At Tarsus, as in other towns, he could see markets, town halls, basilicas and temples: hotels and inns; and often in the more important ones, public baths with central heating and a promenade; libraries, circuses, theatres and amphitheatres, all built

of stone; and besides these, big monuments and imposing arches.[10] The sun of civilization was rising through clear air to its meridian. On the Palatine hill Apollo was enthroned.

Even in Tarsus the world-wide state was already consisting of a number of urban districts, each of which had for its centre an equally well-organized town or city, but all looked towards Rome for those who directed the social and economic life of the Empire.

4

The mere title of Roman citizen itself counted for much: and without it no one could aspire to positions of honour. It gave the right to a boy to enter the special schools and colleges and receive his training in athletics, philosophy, music and the arts of speaking.[11] As soon as he entered this world of culture, with its philosophy, its arts, its games, the young Roman citizen fell under the influence of Hellas: the great achievement of the Caesars followed the example given them a hundred years before by Alexander.

5

For Alexander, who was the pupil of Aristotle—as Aristotle had been the pupil of Plato—had fostered the idea of an elastic personal freedom of the citizen fitting into a concept of a far-reaching Empire.[12] He had regarded himself as one sent to harmonise and settle the whole world, bringing to all men peace, concord and community. He had endowed the Greeks with breadth of mind and toleration. His name and legend evoke admiration still in every corner of the Levant.

Nurtured in the sense of the unity of the world, and of an ideal truth and beauty within and beyond it, the cultured Hellenes had learnt "the great Asian mystery", as Disraeli called it, and explored the reach of intuition; their philosophy was moral, metaphysical and universal.

The cult of excellence and the ideal transcended the limitations of religion, family, class and nation: it needed neither images nor temples.[13] It looked to the reconciliation of mankind. And so its universalism enthroned the individual. By its contact with the East, and its sense of the unseen power of soul and ideal, philosophy became first metaphysical, and then mystical. For it knew already that the things which are not seen are eternal.

When the Greeks were conquered by the Romans, they taught their victors idealism. Cicero writing now about duty, now about the nature of the divine beings, had set out Greek thought in Roman terms.

With art and philosophy came the sense that law was in itself, as Plato had taught, the expression of the eternal truth of justice and order.[14] And a Roman citizen who was a Jew would add these ideas to his own Jewish law.

6

A well-educated citizen of Rome learnt therefore that the alliance of law and order depended on the law's own foundation on reason, and therefore on that prudence which was the cardinal virtue of reason.[15] For the Greek philosophers taught that as reason, illumined by intuition, should guide and control all the human faculties, so law should control the life of the city. Its citizens in turn were trained to these ideals by exercise, assisted by rhythm. For even in music, reason must still be lord

and master, and men, in aiming at the ideal, must attune themselves to the eternal laws, the eternal order by which they live.[16]

While, therefore, the young man in the Greco-Roman world was learning of culture and philosophy, he met in Tarsus, as in every city, a series of festivals, of sport and music. Aristides, writing in the second century, compared these celebrations to the sacred fire which must never be allowed to burn out.[17] Rome encouraged the passion for sport; it was firstly innocuous; but shrewd administrators soon saw that the vent for vitality was associated with the honour given to the gods, and above all with the majesty of the Emperor.

But if, on one side, the lure of the ideal encouraged culture and effort, there was a crude physical side to life as well in the world of sport; the clear streams of rhythmical order met the muddier one of pleasure in sport which, meant to make a young man's life both virile and delightful, was not altogether divorced from animal pride; then as now, it was a cult in itself.[18]

7

Yet we must not imagine the Greco-Roman world as a Paradise. It had no conception of a God who loved it; while the nobler kind might aspire to ideals and virtues, there was only doom for the sinner. And though a slave might have a kind master, life was generally hard for him. Both cruelty and uncleanness disfigured society; magic arts were practised, and men had fantastic ideas of worship. Some sought to be initiated into elaborate rites or "mysteries" connected with the names of Isis, Serapis, or Mithra, by which they could escape from sin and death: some worshipped grotesque idols: veneration was

sought, not merely for Augustus but for his three powerful but profligate successors, those whom Fisher calls "a madman, a pedant and a monster".[19] Ideals were one thing; custom was another. Carousals, debauches, riots, quarrels were apt to arise even at the temple and the shrine—the Levant wandered far from ideals.

8

Nevertheless, the Hellenistic culture of the time gleamed with subtle and intriguing views. Five hundred years before it had reached its culmination after the age of Pericles. Sublime speculation—as to what was meant by being and reality; what was the origin, what the essence of goodness, truth and beauty; whether the soul was immortal, whether it would reincarnate; and what was the best theory of politics and society—had been both enriched by lofty speculation and subjected to analytical criticism by two immortal lecturers — Plato, and his pupil, Aristotle. These studies were — even after the changes and modifications of four centuries — what the Greeks called the philosophy or wisdom which made the highest life of the mind.

"Wherever literature consoles sorrow or assuages pain," wrote Macaulay; "wherever it brings gladness to eyes which fail with wakefulness and tears, and ache for the dark house and the long sleep: there is exhibited in its noblest form the immortal genius of Athens. . . . ."

"No material advantage", he continued, "is to be compared with that purification of the intellectual eye which gives us to contemplate the infinite wealth of the mental world, all the hoarded treasures of its primeval dynasties, all the shapeless ore of its yet unexplored mines. This is the gift of Athens to man."[20]

9

What was the Hellenic idea of the time of Augustus? It was, if one may put it shortly, to be a gentleman. It was to live according to standards: to run to no extremes: to have endurance, taste, and judgment: to keep the laws, and play the man. The balance and harmony in each man's character should ennoble social life. But how could he attain to this unless the gods were with him? A man must above all bow to the mysterious Governance which so quickly brought humiliation to the man who believed himself all powerful. Sophocles, especially in the "Ajax", had driven home the lesson that man should recognize that he was but man, and show reverence to the Gods.[21]

Nevertheless the picture of Hellas is singularly attractive: in its way it is what we have come to know as singularly English. And it had within it many metaphysical subtleties,[22] which, when they met that curious and ubiquitous people, the Jews, persuaded them to seek for philosophy and reasonableness in their own religion.

10

So much for the Hellenistic culture in which a Roman citizen was trained: but a shrewd Jew would soon see that the Roman rule had a firm grip of common clay. Like the Americans, or the English, the Roman had practical success in view: like them he cherished justice, had a sense that the eternal powers were behind him, and he compromised with superstition. Merchandise could prosper, amenities increase, civilisation rise on wings of culture. Yet however beneficent and progressive, the Empire stood upon its army: it was the officer who had the glamour

and the power. As in Hohenzollern Prussia, the soldier's bearing marked his preeminence; as he moved, he gleamed and glinted with the flashing insignia of prestige. When all was said, the Emperor ruled because the army was behind him. To put it crudely, each Caesar was the head of a military tyranny.[23]

The result of this was dramatic. The Emperors were fascinated by the opportunities of their authority, but fearful of losing them. And seizing their pleasures while they could, they plucked poisonous berries in the byways of depravity. But oppressed with fear, they engaged in intrigue, and intrigue led on to crime. And by a curious irony, at the same time as they fell below the standards of their slaves, they allowed themselves to be proclaimed superhuman and divine.[24] But to the Empire as a whole, worship of the Emperor was a convenience. "He was a god so long as he governed the state and because he governed the state."[25] One reason why divine honour was claimed for him was that it invested with prestige the authority of his officials and his officers.

The rule of Imperial Rome was sound, just, beneficent: its cult and culture were not without nobility, but its worship implied neither moral effort nor mystical communion: it was an act of homage to the infinite convenience of an established order, and it, too, was far from that solidity of trust, that veneration of the one personal fount of mercy, that plainness of command and obedience both for conduct and for custom which was cherished by the Jews.

II

THE HELLENISED JEW

1

HOW, IN THE TIME OF JULIUS CAESAR, DID THE ROMANS VIEW the Jews who in former centuries had not gone much further from Syria than Babylon on the one side and Egypt on the other, but were now spreading along the shores of the Levant to Greece and to Italy, Cyprus, Cyrene, Asia Minor, Macedonia? All came to know this race as having a patriotism that thought not of soils and empire, but of a religion, a custom and a law which enabled business men to recognise every scattered pedlar and trader as a brother. These people lived apart: they saved money to be benevolent to their own people and gave nothing to the rest: though their temperaments were passionate, they mixed with no women but their own. They had not only their own quarters but their own courts. They were despised; they were outcasts.[1] Yet somehow they were at home: for among themselves they had the social gift, hospitality, gaiety, and kindliness. The Levant still knows these little communities—not always only Jewish—where, linked together by a common history, common customs, and a common danger, people repeat their gossip and work out their intrigues.[2]

Joined by both their racial passion and their oriental subtlety, the Jews yet remained a puzzle. They seemed like a secret society, a freemasonry working for each other at the expense of outsiders.[3] The food they ate, or the food they refused to eat, their insistence on observing their sabbath and their feasts, the suggestions of smelliness[4] and even dirt, which others noticed in them, their pale complexion, their unmistakable lines

of nose and eyes and lips, all combined to make them repugnant to the cultured Roman.[5] Men felt that a people so singular must be sinister, must be the enemies both of mankind and of the Gods.[6]

2

And yet a power, even a dignity, remained. Men noticed a certain standard, a certain elevation. Jews could attract interest or pity, especially from women.[7] Jews could make converts to their religion of trust in the one, true, merciful God they persistently worshipped.[8] Men noticed their fraternal link with one another, their charity, their application, their honesty. Living among the poor and enslaved, they had the pride of princes. In the centre of the whirlwind, their confidence gave them calm: in a polluted world they felt themselves to be superior and pure.[9] Warm feelings, honesty and family affection gave to their lives the flavour and a perfume of a garden of herbs; a patriarchal system, an oriental temper and a sublime tradition—robed them in dignity as the gabbah does the Bedouin sheikh to-day.[10]

3

At the time of Augustus, there were a million of these among the eight millions of Egypt.[11] There were other large bodies of them in Asia Minor, especially at Antioch on the Orontes.[12] But they spread to Arabia, to Africa, to the Crimea, all through Asia Minor, all through Greece, in Cyprus, in Crete; and of course to Rome, the city of central opportunities. "The Jews have found their way into every state," said Strabo, "in the

whole world it is not easy to find a single place which has not received this race and found it indomitable."[13] They were estimated at a twelfth of the Roman Empire.[14] Julius Caesar, following Alexander, had seen the prudence of conciliating them. By four successive edicts, he assured them not only their entire independence but other privileges as well.[15] Their laws and customs were recognised: they were permitted to hold assemblies and collect taxes either for local synagogues or for the temple at Jerusalem. They obtained recognition of their sabbath and other sacred seasons. They were even allowed a sabbatical year when they were exempted from taxes. Cicero in his speech for Flaccus said that it required courage to run counter to them, and even judged it discreet to drop the voice before referring to their influence.[16] The privileges granted by Caesar were confirmed by Augustus.[17] Everywhere the Roman Governors treated Israelites with consideration.[18] If it were ever otherwise, if any town denied their prerogatives, or anyone attempted to meddle with their property, the whole Roman Empire would echo to complaints of persecution.[19] They got into their hands the business of the small tradesman: then, quietly and by degrees, they would attain power over the bigger interests.[20] Then their aid would even be required by the Roman administrators in the collection of the taxes: in the region of the Euphrates they had been employed even as ambassadors.

4

Yet their success generally made them unpopular with the common people: in Egypt the oracles of Ammon Ra had denounced them as a curse.

5

Such was the strange drama of their lives: theirs was a lofty religion, believing in one God: worshipping Him in holiness: trusting in Him as the Master of graciousness and pardon: keeping not only His ten commandments, but all those ritual enactments, customs and directions they reverenced as His Law.[21] They had in a word all the qualities they still retain: they added to them the superiority of having the finest and loftiest belief in a Lord whose law was inviolable, and whose power was in His loving-kindness: "Blessed", they repeated, "is the man that trusteth in Him."[22] So everywhere a young Jew learnt that he was one apart.

6

What was the history of his people? He found it set down in a Literature ennobled with a clearer and clearer sense of the goodness of God. It began with a phrase of overwhelming and sublime significance: *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.* In epic phrases it traced the story of the ages, of man's original disobedience, of Abraham's place as Patriarch, and the promise that in his seed shall all nations of the earth be blest.[23]

The figures of remarkable Judges, prophets, and kings emerged. Eminent among these was one who had borne the name of Shaul, whose successor David, or Davood, was both king and poet, and whose son in turn—he is still revered from Malaya to Morocco as Suleiman—was the wisest of the Kings of the East.

Later disaster had fallen on the Jews. They had been carried away captive into Babylonia: and from that time we trace their

dispersion. When only the fraction had chosen to return, the rest had scattered over lands that became the Roman Empire, cherishing always the conviction that they were a unique race. The next to dominate that region were Seleucus and his house reigning at Antioch on the Orontes. But when the Seleucid King, Antiochus IV, ordered the profanation of the temple, the Jews rose in revolt, under the leadership of the Maccabees. In B.C.63 as we saw, Pompey conquered Jerusalem, and when Caesar defeated Pompey at Pharsala, in B.C.48, the government was obtained by the able ruler of Idumæa, Herod the Great, the head of the Hasmonean house, who treated with Mark Antony.[24]

Thus then, in the time of Augustus, did a young Jew learn of his people; he was one of a race scattered over the Empire but with a sacred capital in Jerusalem: he had a strong and lofty religion which bound him to the keeping of their tradition; and this in turn meant the study of their sacred books; for their code was interwoven with history, with sacred poetry, and with the work of the prophets—and all were venerated together under the name of TORAH — the TORAH of JAHWEH (or Jehovah) the unnamable Lord.

7

The Torah was in the first case the law of Moses, reinforced by Ezra the Scribe,[25] who taught in Israel statutes and judgments leading to a devotion without qualification or reserve, a wholehearted allegiance to the will of God.[26]

But what in the course of ages had that come to mean? All the Jews must uphold the Torah, but, since the Jews had had to accommodate themselves to the House of Seleucus, reigning at Antioch, the party most closely associated with the government, that is to say, the priestly families who had become the

nobility, did not want their devotion to the Torah to interfere with their political work for the Hasmonean house. They preferred, therefore, to keep to the letter of the Torah, as Ezra had established it.

Such compromise, however, was by no means enough for the more zealous Jews, who wanted to keep the Torah apart from all worldly considerations. In every act of life they insisted that it was a sacred guide. Now cases were always arising where the written code required an interpretation in order to be applied. In such cases the priests and learned men, the Rabbis, gave their interpretation, and claimed authority for it: this attached to the Torah a sacred tradition, the Halacha.[27]

Above the general run of the Jews, the people of the land—the Am-ha-aretz—was therefore a stricter order of life, an order set apart, the Parushim, an order of laymen, who held themselves apart and insisted on their power to understand, interpret and apply the Torah to every act of life.

They differed on the one side from the Am-ha-aretz, and on the other from the upper class of priests and princes who, finding their model in Zadok, the court priest, suited their religion to the demands of power. Such is the difference between the Sadducees, the devotees of Zadok, and the Parushim—whom the English know as the Pharisees. These were always studying and applying the Torah by means of their living oral tradition, the Halacha; they surrounded it with a body of legend and allegory known as the Haggadah. But their passion was for the Torah as a way of life and of holiness. How strict then was the life of the young Parush!

8

"The Torah of Jahweh is perfect, restoring the soul"[28]: "Blessed are they that are undeviating in the way, who walk in

the Torah of Jahweh."[29] This Torah means teaching: it did not mean mere Law.[30]

It meant: "all that God has made known of His character, nature and purpose and of what He would have men be and do."[31] And since this was so, Torah and Halacha, law and tradition, were to the Parushim one. Those who practised it lived apart, a stricter and more conscious life of piety: "Among them, the rabbi and the father of the family tended more and more to supplant the Levite and the priest."[32]

Finally, in the application of the Law to daily life, the Parushim were supreme, and, for an Israelite desirous of devoutly fulfilling his duties, indispensable. Women especially, as Josephus noted, looked upon them as their oracle.

The Parushim represented, from the time of the Maccabees to the fall of Jerusalem, the kernel of Israel.[33]

9

Thus to be a Hebrew and a Parush meant to live in a daily interpretation and application of the Torah, as the greatest privilege and blessing which the unnamable Lord of Mercy had ever given to men, every separate injunction being duty and privilege in one. The fulfilment of the divine precepts was also to lead to earthly welfare and prosperity.[34]

Prominent in the Torah was the sacrifice of animals in the temple at Jerusalem. But the idea of sacrifice was not the only one found in the Jewish religion. For sacrifice could be overdone.[35] It could fail by being either crude or perfunctory. It was not for *God* merely to eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats. And so the Israelite could read in one place:

> "In sacrifice, and in offering of meat Thou takest no pleasure,

Burnt-offering and sin-offering Thou hast not demanded.
I come to do Thy will."[36]

For to this great worshipper intense prayer had been enough. And in another place he could read:

"Thou hast no delight in sacrifice, else would I give it Thee,
Thou hast no pleasure in burnt-offering:
The sacrifices of God are a troubled spirit,
A broken and a contrite heart, O God, Thou wilt not despise."[37]

Before the supreme and awful quality of the most High, men must bow: "For thus saith the high and lofty one that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy: I dwell in the high and lofty place with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit."[38]

10

Thus though the zealous Israelite fitted himself to success in the world, yet before his Maker he must bow to adore and praise Him whose hands made the skies a tent for the sun, and who had ordained the moon and the stars that night should teach knowledge to night, and who yet had made for man's soul a perfect rule, and enlightened his eyes with a pure commandment. All through the great anthology of Israel was the idea of a personal God in whom Israel might trust[39] and who said: "I have loved thee with an everlasting love and with loving-kindness have I drawn thee."[40]

For here was not, as to Sophocles or Aeschylus, the grim thought of inexorable fate, only to be endured. All the calam-

ities of man could not cut him off from the solicitude of the All Merciful. "Though he slay me, yet will I trust him."[41]

11

If a young Jew went to Jerusalem, he heard, morning by morning, on the steps of the Hebrew temple, the robed Levite raise his voice to pronounce the ancient blessing: "The Lord bless thee and keep thee, the Lord make his face to shine upon thee and be gracious to thee, the Lord lift up the light of his countenance and give thee peace."[42] The idea of a blessing spreading like the light of sunrise mingled with a hope that on a great day the Lord would come to establish his reign of happiness and good in a city where "the streets of the city would be full of boys and girls playing",[43] where the vine should give grapes, and the earth her increase, where the gates would be open continually.[44]

Nowhere in Hellenic classics, from the flashing heroes and fair women, the wine-dark seas and the bold exploits of the Odyssey to the weight of pathos in Euripides or doom in Aeschylus, or in the exact and soaring thought of Plato and his followers, is there a style so powerful, a conception so exalted, a moral law so pure, a trust so solid in God and His goodness to men, a hope so constant in His blessings and mercies, as those treasured by the tribes of Israel:[45] nor were they to be found in what the greatest of Romans had been writing: nor even if one went over the Himalayas to the Ganges would one have found in the Bhagavad-Gita, or the Vedas, a voice so intimate, a law so spiritual, a vindication at once so august and so personal of the character and fate of men.

If there was drama and travail in their life, it was but the absorbing story of a call to holiness, and the earnest of an

(Kersting)

JERUSALEM—LOOKING TOWARD THE MOUNT OF OLIVES
(*From the old walls; the so-called Tomb of Absalom is on the right*)

inheritance of glory: here then would be goodness for the poor, freedom for those chained in prison: God Himself, with the tender sympathy of a healer, would bind up the broken-hearted:[46] He would rise like a sun of righteousness, with healing in His wings.[47]

The story had been long, and had passed through many phases of human passion and merely human interest; but to the Israelite of the time of Augustus, the jewels could be taken at will.

12

By that time, however, a young Jew in the Greco-Roman world would learn how the very Torah itself had undergone a subtle change. The Jews, always elastic and adaptable, had suited their mentality to the Hellenistic world in which they lived,[48] and its Platonistic philosophy: their veneration of the Torah was associated with those qualities of which they read in the works of the wise king: wisdom and understanding.

What was their attitude to these non-Jews, whom they called the Goyim, or in Greek, the nations? Were they to be regarded as men benighted and corrupt, spreading a dangerous infection, or were they by gracious and accommodating views to be won towards the Torah? The inclination of the Jews naturally was to take a favourable view of any that gave them opportunities. On this ground, they were less favourable to the Romans than they had been to the Egyptians or Ethiopians. But naturally the families who had been given Roman citizenship or other considerations found much good in the ways of Rome.

13

Besides, these Israelites desired to gain adherents: they

wanted to Judaize those whom they taught to venerate their Torah. They recognised those who followed it as good men; they called them "the God-fearing".[49] But they could go a step further: they could actually receive them into the promises and covenant of Israel by applying the act of initiation which was performed on their own flesh: Jews were marked with their sacred character by the definite rite of circumcision performed on all their males. This act, with its sacrifice of pain and blood, with its mark lasting, intimate, peculiar, was the sacred, the crucial, the significant test.[50]

The divine origin they claimed for circumcision, its association with the act by which the race was renewed, its intimacy, its particularity as the sign and act of initiation among the elect combined to fix their insistence that it was the touchstone of rightness both among the Jews and before the Lord.[51] Those who lacked it were beyond the pale, in outer darkness.

The Greeks and Romans found this rite as distasteful as they found the Jews. To them it was a disfigurement: they held it in derision.[52] They were just as anxious not to be among the circumcised as the Jews were to cherish their initiation, and to eat their banquets alone.[53]

14

On the one side, then, for the young Jew, exclusiveness, on the other, if not compromise, at least elasticity. It developed an aptitude for discussion and explanation of the Law. "The Israelites of the Dispersion struck just the right balance, for they discarded the hard literalness of the letter, they were modest with regard to their own wisdom, they were ready to hold arguments, to listen to the opinion of others, and to consider every question that might be raised."[54] Their religion was

modified, but at the same time they felt more than ever that it was worth spreading.

Their Scriptures were translated into Greek, in the form known as the Septuagint. It received this name because according to the current legend, Ptolemy Philadelphus desired to have a translation, and seventy-two scholars, retiring to the island of Pharos close to Alexandria, made the translation in seventy-two days. This form of Hebrew literature was charged with a different atmosphere, just as the English Bible has its English atmosphere. And even for those who spoke Hebrew there was an equivalent change, for the ancient Scriptures were translated contemporarily to the Aramaic: this translation, the Targum, was a Jewish parallel to the Septuagint. New books were also written, and came to be accounted sacred by the Jews.

15

A distinct Hellenist influence can be traced above all in the new love of the quality of wisdom, an almost personal quality,[55] appreciated by the Jews as far back as 300 B.C.

A new genius summed up, in the "Wisdom of Solomon", the essence of this religion as the gift which God had given in irradiating the secrets of His own mind; the study of the Law went hand in hand with the cultivation of wisdom. A power pointed man upwards to something in him which was infinitely more august than himself:

> "Wisdom that is the artificer of all things taught me.
> For there is in her a spirit, quick of understanding, holy,
> Alone in kind, manifold,
> Subtle, freely moving,
> Clear in utterance,
> Unrestrained, distinct, unharmed,

Loving what is good, keen, unhindered, beneficent,
Loving towards man, steadfast, sure, free from care,
All powerful, all surveying,
And penetrating through all spirits that are quick of understanding, pure and most subtle."[56]

Above all, at Alexandria, the Hebrews had learned the metaphysical subtlety of wisdom, and Philo, the ablest of them all, spoke not only of that but of a Word which came forth from God as the thought and expression of His Mind.[57]

As he did so, he taught that the highest quality of man was that breath of life which came from the in-breathing, the inspiration of God. A new conception was added to Greek thought. The breath, the spirit was the highest faculty of man, rising far above that principle of natural life, the psyche—the life which was in the blood.

At a centre of culture like Tarsus, a young Jew inevitably became aware of the steps already taken in this sense at Alexandria.

16

He saw how everywhere the mind and religion of Israel had become less tribal and personal. "The Bible in which God is called Jahweh is the Bible of a race," wrote Deissmann, "the Bible in which God is called the Lord is the Bible for the world".[58] If this is true of the word Jahweh, it is not less true for the word Torah. When Torah became translated into the word which represented to the thinking mind not only the majesty of Roman law, but the ideal principle of order and justice, it suggested no longer a merely Jewish code, but the moral order which was one with the Spirit and Wisdom of the

Universe. The words "Blessed are they that are undeviating in the way who walk in the Torah of Jahweh"[59] implied that all that mattered was to be a good Jew. But when a man read the words: "Blessed are they who are undefiled in the way who walk in the Law of the Lord", they thought of a moral standard for the whole world.

Since they could not change the sacred formularies they looked on as eternal, their method was to read into them by explanation, by comment, by allegorical interpretations the meaning they required.

17

Not least was this true of their expectation of him for whom they hoped, their Machiah, their Anointed One, or as the Septuagint called him, the CHRISTOS, who was to lead to final glory the Israel of God. A liberator, he was to save and preserve his people by the power of the ineffable I AM.

In the Book of Samuel, it was written

> "The Lord shall give strength unto his King,
> And exalt the horn of his Christos."[60]

The Seventeenth Psalm of the Septuagint hailed the triumph of the Christos. He was to be the Judge, the Ruler and the Conqueror. This prince of promise appeared both in the Psalms and in Isaiah as the Son of David[61], endowed with the spirit of wisdom and counsel.[62] Yet as time went on, he appeared as a selfless hero sacrificing himself to expiate the sins of his people, and save them from the avenging justice, ready to offer in their stead his body and his life.[63]

The Second Psalm spoke of the Christos meeting the crafty opposition of kings: "The Lord said unto me, Thou art my

Son . . . and I will give Thee the uttermost parts of the earth for Thy possession". In Daniel, the Son was the Son of Man, triumphant: "I saw in the night visions and beheld one like unto a Son of Man came with the clouds of heaven and came to the Ancient of Days, and they brought him near before him, and there was given him dominion and glory and a kingdom that all peoples, nations and languages should serve him. His dominion is an everlasting dominion and his Kingdom that which shall not be destroyed".[64]

What form the Christos should take, the Rabbis could not decide. But, as a recent authority attests, "it is no exaggeration to say that in the reign of Augustus, speculations as to the date and duration of the Messianic reign, the coming of the Messiah, the day of Jahweh, the Resurrection, and the last Judgment were central in Jewish thought and occupied the chief place among the politico-religious questions which engrossed the inhabitants of Palestine".[65] It was natural for a Jew to expect that the Christos would make them paramount in the Roman Empire.[66]

Everywhere, as in Europe in the Elizabethan time, the air was alive with expectancy; Virgil's prophecy of Apollo returning to reign over a bland earth in a golden age, restored in leisure and blessing, mingled with the Jews' conviction that a great power was about to appear among them. Prophets, enthusiasts, agitators arose. Each of these claimed to be the Anointed, the Messiah, the Christos.[67]

18

Into this dawn and expectation, into this new epoch, into this interplay of East with West, with the majesty of the Roman peace, with the honour of Roman citizenship, with the inheri-

tance of a fine Hellenic training for the body and the mind, was born the Jewish child who was to develop with outstanding character and genius his acceptance not only of the sacred heritage of Israel, but, in that, of a mystery hidden from the foundation of the world.

III

YOUTH SEEKING HOLINESS

1

AS A YOUNG CHILD WAKES TO CONSCIOUSNESS, HE LEARNS HOW to use every weapon of the social joust. The young Israelite in Tarsus soon learnt what it was both to be a Roman citizen and to be a Jew. He was proud of Tarsus, proud therefore of its history, proud of its university, proud of its trade, proud of its views. It had been founded by a great Assyrian: it was granted privileges by Pompey the Great; it had received still more from Antony and Cleopatra[1]; it was a centre for elegant youth learning rhetoric in its schools, learning through the thrust of question and answer in the "diatribe",[2] learning the tradition of the gentleman not only in the training of words, but in musical competitions, races and sports. In all these things a youth of the more honourable classes would absorb the atmosphere, just as a quite orthodox young Jew in the English nobility seeks at Eton the triumphs of an Etonian. All these things were his *métier*: he grew up to enjoy his privileges as naturally as he saw a servant class—the slaves—appointed to look after him, give him his early training, and, as time went on, take him to school.

But as he did all these things among other boys born to enjoy the prestige of citizenship in the Empire, he learnt from a devoted father how he was marked with more sacred privileges; he belonged to the sacred race; he inherited the traditions of the Jews who had been settled in Tarsus for nearly two hundred years; he was brought up to the zeal not merely of the Jews but of the Rabbis and their Parushim. He knew that

far above all else in importance were his law, his religion and his God.

2

Tarsus then—he called it Tersous—on the one side showed him what the world was: "loaded with favours by Rome, free and exempt from taxes since the time of Pompey the Great, and the metropolis of Cilicia since the reign of Augustus, it was a chief emporium of the Levant":[3] to it came therefore caravans of camels and donkeys laden with stuff they had brought over the desert to Damascus from Babylon, Baghdad and Persia; at its wharves were moored white-sailed ships from the Mediterranean: to the North, as giants to sentinel the land, marched the host of Taurus peaks; through their rough gorges and jagged heights, a pass, known as the Cilician Gates, led the traffic of merchantmen, after the snows had melted, into the rough interior of Asia Minor. Around the city, a fruitful plain, intersected by ditches and canals, grew produce for the market-place. Through the blue air above, pearly wings marked in spring and autumn the migrations of battalions of storks: and as it drew towards evening, the sky assumed a golden blush and the clouds, scarlet like the anemone, flashed flame.

It was a scene to fill an imaginative boy with a sense of the wealth of life. In the spring, when the meadows burst into flower, the scent of jasmine and orange blossom added the charm of perfume, while in the evening, the harp, and the cadences of the voice taught his spirit to vibrate; the sense that life was good, that the world was made in wisdom, that it pointed to a Creator of endless power and beneficence came to him both from his eye, and from early lessons in which literature and religion were one.

In such a town as this an able man of business found his opportunities, and it is easy to see why a Jew of enterprise should come there from the hill land of Galilee. The Jew who had prospered, however, was apt to ascribe his prosperity to the Lord who blessed him, and he found the secret of his success in his traditions. Fortune, therefore, instead of beguiling him from religion, strengthened him in piety; and living strictly as a Jew, he not only gave his son the name of his tribe's famous king, Shaul; but he was well content that his resources should enable the boy to grow up as a Rabbi, a master of the Jewish law, who could as such be advocate, counsellor, magistrate, lecturer or man of letters.[4]

It was the Jews' rule, furthermore, that every boy should learn a craft. The craft chosen for this boy was that of a weaver of goat's hair, and in fact a maker of tents, such as were in demand by the traffickers who brought and led their camels afar. From his earliest years this boy knew, with the clatter of the loom, the art of being creative: his work also gave him an interest in travel, and all it taught. His world swarmed with variety, and he had, to a phenomenal degree, the sensitiveness of perception, the adroitness of mind, and the elasticity which enables a boy to develop in many directions. This boy tasted early of the fruit of romance, but he was more interested in things of the town than of the country, and fully aware of the world and its distinctions: one of those who knows best the milieu in which he lived suggests that to his Jewish name, Shaul, he, as a Roman citizen, had added from childhood a Roman name, such as Gaius Julius Paulus.[5] What came to him from the Hellenic world was simply the effect of his environment on a highly-strung, vigorous, impressionable, daring and brilliant boy: his training was that of an Israelite: his loyalties

to the Parushim; his belief and canon those which took him back to Abraham, to Isaac and to Jacob.

From the beginning, he had been aware also of the buffoonery, and the scurrilousness of the general youth, who turned from philosophy, or from the gentlemanly standards of the Stoics to sheer vulgarity or to the crude worship of Sandon, or to the elaborate, savage ritual by which the worshippers of Mithra sought courage and virility. A habit of silly and dirty talk which has survived among boys of all countries in all ages was certainly not wanting in Tarsus;[6] it mingled with the gentlemanly standards of the University of Athenodorus; it was apt to arise in the exercises of the stadium, where boys stripped naked to jump, to run, to box; and where the mark of circumcision reminded others that the young Jews had deliberately branded themselves apart from others.[7]

4

What was the boyhood of Shaul in Tarsus? Conscious to a certain extent of sex, he yet recoiled from its impurities; aware of pagan worship, he shrank in horror of its error and its blasphemy; breathing the atmosphere of what the Stoics still taught of Platonism, he made no direct study of it, feeling that the poetry of Israel knew of a Wisdom which was subtler, purer, and more personal.

Proudly recognising that the Roman power, whose might was indisputable, and which everywhere brought law and order, had set his family in a position of personal privilege, he enjoyed the additional sense that this supreme power respected his race and his religion; touched—as who could not be?—by the Hellenic culture around him and its ideals of taste and beauty, his deep trust was in that Lord who had made heaven

and earth, whose mercy was over all His works; vaunting the tradition and prestige of Tarsus and its culture, he turned with grateful awe to a Jewish Torah which, as the Law, was dearer to him than thousands of gold and silver, and which taught him to say, "The zeal of thy house has devoured me":[8] thus the young Shaul, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Parush, breathed the air of Cilicia—learning all it had in common on the one side with Athens and Rome, on the other with Syria, with Egypt and with the desert.

5

The tastes and excesses of culture and commerce made Tarsus already a rough model of what Lorenzo dei Medici was to see in Florence. But it was a town of the Orient and of the South. The air was suave, at times close. The sun shone brilliant from a sky filled with light and colour: the plain on which the sturdy boy rode on his donkey was green in summer, gold in the autumn with corn and maize; through it, from the glaciers and ravines of the Taurus, he saw the river Cydnus flowing down till just above the city it cascaded in speed and foam over rocks in a shallow waterfall; it then resumed its transparent flow to where the boats came into its quays from Tyre, from Alexandria and from Ephesus. Further down, it spread into a lake.

From this striking scene, the young Jew gathered memories of its Assyrian founder, Assur-bani-pal, of battles of Cyrus and his Hellenes with the Cilician Queen, of the Roman conquest, of the dalliance and prowess of Mark Antony. Among the scholars of Tarsus, one Athenodorus had been the tutor of Augustus,[9] and he was not the only man of learning to show that learning can bring wealth and honour. Where learning

pays, not a few will study: and some of them will be Jews.[10]

But the hearts of Shaul and his family were in other things. While touched in a thousand ways by general impressions, from his earliest years he was drawn towards piety and the study of the Torah.

How did the boy learn this? Very early he was taken to the bare house of meeting, which the Jews in their own language called the Kenishta; in Greek the word for meeting was Synagoge. There the faithful came together, not to offer sacrifice, but to hear read from parchments in embroidered vellum the translation of the Law and all the other scriptures which were the masterpieces of their literature.[11] These recounted the dramatic story of their race, which told of its customs, its ideals, its mysteries, its hopes of the coming of an anointed chief, the Messiah, the Christos. There he was trained in a great literature, there he learnt of all the developments of his religion, from the Scriptures themselves, generally in the Septuagint, but sometimes was read one of those renderings in contemporary Hebrew which was called a Targum; he learnt the repetition of them—the Mishna. There he heard the traditional prayers, and sometimes a priest voicing his own thanksgiving, or his own plea for mercy.

Indeed this worship of the Kenishta, the Synagoge, though oriental, had resemblances to the Presbyterian or Wesleyan service of to-day: in the Scriptures, it had the background of traditional forms which affected its style and tone: it was a ministry of the word—bible worship with little ritual and no sacrifice.

Yet his Jewish Law, the Torah, was always telling him of the sacrifices it required; the sacrifice of animals was, as he soon learnt, an essential part of the ritual and worship of the central shrine of Israel, the temple at Jerusalem; the temple was built by Solomon, and rebuilt in the time of Cyrus, as Paul

learnt from the sacred writer he knew in his Septuagint as Esdras.

He had a genius for words, and from his earliest days the poetry of the Septuagint was stamped on his memory. It is the key to his culture. In the Mishna, he learnt long passages by heart.[12] And with it he learnt its history, and its meaning; for was it not already being adapted by an elastic application and by allegory to meet the changing and growing needs of the human spirit, such as they were known to citizens living in a Hellenised world, under Augustus?[13]

6

How long he stayed in Tarsus, one cannot exactly say: one authority says till he was thirteen, another till he was fifteen, a third till he was twenty.[14] The time came in his youth, sooner or later, when it was fixed that he should leave Tarsus for Jerusalem. He went down the Syrian coast past Alexandretta, Latakia, Beyrout, Acre, seeing every evening the chain of Lebanon light up as the sun set over the sea, till, above Haifa, it was succeeded by the rounder mass of Mount Carmel, and finally at Caesarea he found himself at the port for Jerusalem.

When he had been travelling for some hours up gently rising land, he found above him the declivities steepening. It was up through rough and moutainous country that he passed into the traditional home not only of his race but of his own particular tribe; he was among names he already knew. After traversing a deep gorge, his caravan wound up long miles of hill till they were in sight of an eminence marked with the rose-coloured outlines of a city. This hill was Sion. This city was Jerusalem.

Earth offered him no greater privilege than to enter it: "The

Lord loveth the gates of Sion more than all the dwellings of Jacob".[15] That he had learnt long since. And already many other cherished verses came to his lips: "I was glad when they said unto me, we will go into the house of the Lord: our feet shall stand in thy gates, O Jerusalem. For thither the tribes go up, the tribes of the Lord". There, he believed, was the earliest shrine of God's mercy: there was the fullest and finest exposition of the Sacred Law: there was the Holy of Holies; had he not already prayed for the peace of Jerusalem, that there should be plenteousness within her palaces; did he not know that they who loved her should prosper? if he forgot Jerusalem, might his right hand forget its cunning!

And there he could gratify his heart's desire to study the books which were the most inspiring open to the study of mankind.

He was to search their meaning under a scholar of the highest authority and eminence; there was never a better Rabbi than Gamaliel. Gentleness and graciousness marked the temper of his bearing: his aim was to reconcile mankind to the Law. His method was not the dispute of exact points, but an enthusiastic comprehension and elucidation of the whole.[16] A father of conciliation, and of pardon, lofty, generous, such was the Master in Israel chosen to form the mind of the zealous and brilliant youth who had arrived from Cilicia to be his most gifted pupil.

Here the young Shaul learned to be what the son of Sirach had painted: "He who giveth his soul to the law of the Lord Most High searcheth the Wisdom of the Ancients, and meditateth upon the prophecies. Revolving in his mind the words of holy men, he delves into the winding path of allegories, scrutinises the meaning hidden in proverbs, and meditates upon the enigmas of parables."[17]

And Shaul insisted upon living according to the strictest

rules available: his passion was nothing short of perfection: he wished to keep to the model of the Torah in the most exact and minute manner he possibly could:[18] in everything he was a Hebrew of the Hebrews:[19] his zeal carried him to the extremes: both in learning and in practice, he was the eager pupil of his master.

Breathing the bracing air of Jerusalem, delighting in its intense sunlight and the wild scenery which led down so sharply into the valley of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, steeped in all the associations of his race and particularly of his tribe, the young Shaul, standing for hours below Gamaliel,[20] and engaged with him in earnest discussions, often interrupted, in a way which orientals have never abandoned, with ejaculations of piety and praise, the eager youth watched year after year the spring cover the hills with wild flowers, red as blood, to be followed by a summer of scorching noons and refreshing nights; the autumn gradually brought its torrential storms; alternations of shower, wind and sun made the winter changeful.

While nature showed him these things, religion trained him in a succession of fasts and feasts: in the spring the fast days were in general preliminary to the feasts and were associated with sacrifice, the Passover: the feast of weeks to celebrate the harvest: and the feast of tents later in the year for the final gathering of the fruits, joined to a remembrance of the Flight from Egypt.

Lesser feasts celebrated the Dedication of the Temple, the Reading of the Torah; for on the feast of Purim was read the story of Esther prevailing on Mordecai to secure the prosperity of the tribe. Each week was sanctified by the Sabbath.

"I had looked for Thee in holiness that I might behold Thy power and beauty."[21] Here in the domain of the spirit was the noblest triumph of the Torah. It began with ritual prescrip-

tions, including the observance of special seasons: but it was always allied with, and was gradually replaced by, a moral and spiritual accordance with the will of God Most High. "The Holy God shall sanctify Himself in righteousness,"[22] and men of the world must do likewise till a certain impress of the loftiness and purity of the Master of Spirits was reflected in a spotless life and in an illumined mind—a mind illumined by Holy Wisdom, for the Saints had a very great light,[23] while unnurtured souls went astray. But apart from this there was the reading and study of the Law, the practice of prayer, the search for purity of soul. With these high aims was associated the idea of sacrifice, and the ritual life of the Levites. For Jerusalem faced the young learner with a startling spectacle; to put it brutally, their temple was a slaughter house.[24]

7

Such then was the young man as found in Jerusalem. He lived in an inspiring scene and bracing air; he breathed in an atmosphere of learning, enthusiasm, effort, adoration; he was imbued with pride in the traditions and qualities of the chosen race; he paid a minute observance to a life of ritual and ceremonies, centering on the temple on the naked rock Mount Moriah; he enjoyed the advantage of an excellent memory and a fiery mind, joined to the readiness of a born speaker, trained in Hellenised Tarsus; his mind had a supple and enthusiastic quality which put him rapidly in touch with different types. He had not forgotten the surrounding world, the Hellenised world of gentlemanly culture and sport in which the rites of strange gods survived; he was also aware that the supreme power, the power that maintained law and order, was the power of Rome and of the successors of Augustus. He was

as ready to accord to the Roman Emperor the right claimed by the Roman Emperor as he was to render the worship which his religion told him was due to Him who said: "Thou shalt have none other gods but Me".[25]

Wearing on his robes the broad leather phylacteries and two cases of small leather, the tephillin, one on his forehead, the other on his left arm, attached by a broad and ostentatious strap[26] (as a good churchman of Britain might wear on his watch chain a golden cross), dressed in the flowing robes of the Jew—and a Jew's taste is for excellent and noticeable dress—the refined, eager, brilliant, exemplary and highly-strung young Rabbi from Tarsus completed his training. He learnt by heart the picturesque history of his race, he learnt it still more from religious poems, which combined with a passionate devotion to the Most High a strong element of human feeling, sometimes of doubt and strife, sometimes of exaltation and mysticism. For as he caught from the Psalms their spirit, he felt that God was mysteriously near: "Thou hast holden me by the right hand," he read, "thou shalt guide me with thy counsel and afterward receive me with glory. Whom have I in heaven but thee? And there is none upon earth I desire in comparison of thee. My flesh and my heart faileth, but God is the strength of my heart and my portion for ever".[27] He developed his passion for poetry, learning great passages of literature, from the prophets, and especially from the writer, or writers, he knew as Isaiah, and psalm after psalm. And above all he learnt to interpret the Scriptures through allegory and parable, as the Rabbis were interpreting them.

To Jerusalem came Greek-speaking Jews of the Dispersion with the new books, *Maccabees, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus*. These modernised and refined the mind of the young Rabbi. Who either by zeal or temperament or by training was better fitted to win converts? So it was that when he had completed his first

training at Jerusalem, he could carry back to Cilicia a knowledge to fortify his zeal; he hoped to persuade many more to "the fear of God": and he believed that Israel would dominate the Roman Empire at the coming of the Christos.[28] Was not the time ripe for that triumph? Yet the deliverer was still to come.

8

Nevertheless, while Shaul was away from Jerusalem, the districts of Judaea, Samaria, Galilee bore the imprint of a Presence. One who spoke with authority, who impressed the people with signs and wonders, came among them, taking his language from the simple and sublime things of nature, expounding the prophecies, and saying: *Come unto me.*

More than once he had rebuked the Parushim, the Rabbis, and the Levites. "God is a Spirit", he said, "and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth."[29] Forgiveness to the uttermost, going hungry that one's enemy might eat, a universal benevolence, a sincere and selfless life were the ideas that he enforced from the Hebrew scriptures, but he spoke of a kingdom of heaven to set up on earth, a kingdom that would grow as the mustard tree from its seed. It seemed that in his claim to fulfil the Scriptures, he was inaugurating a religion that was new. His powers were so arresting, his authority so profound, his claims so exalted that the simple people among whom he worked would ask, "Is not *this* the CHRIST?"[30]

And, indeed, his claims were such that men must either denounce him as an audacious impostor, or admit that he belonged to an order of being new to earth. Which? He was accused of blasphemy: and, after a protest from the Roman Governor, he had been utterly disgraced: the very mob had

clamoured for his death. He had been thrashed and finally nailed up, naked and dripping with blood, between two thieves; he had died, in the place of a skull outside the city wall, the death of a criminal slave.

Yet that was not the end. A day or two later, a new story, which—pay as they might[31]—the Jewish authorities could not hush up, echoed through Jerusalem. The tomb of this man, whom his followers called their Lord, was empty. *The dead man had risen again!*

After being seen at first by a few, and finally by many, he had finally ascended in a cloud to heaven, as the Elijah of Jewish history had been carried to heaven in a chariot of fire.[32]

Such was the story they told of Jesus.

IV

THE REVELATION IN THE SAND

1

LIKE MANY A GENIUS AND LEADER SHAUL HAD BEEN A YOUTH of conflicting tendencies. On the one hand, he was all correctness, with that superiority which comes with the discipline and rigidity of a youth with a spiritual ambition. He will scale the angels' ladder by hard training: he will keep every rule. For a young Jew this meant to follow out the Hebrew law with passionate precision, and to seek for satisfaction by combining ritual with morality. "Great", he read, "is the peace of those that love Thy law."[1] Yet Shaul had *not* found peace.

Every kind of excellence brings its peculiar selfishness which is known to some as superiority, and to others as pride. The trouble with his sort of zeal was that self was still in it. A man who is strong to excel does not easily lose himself in the thought and lives of others: and those others feel their grudge. Shaul was in himself a socially gifted and a warmly sympathetic nature, but excel he must: this meant a conflict which in him resulted in a nervous strain, and that led finally to a crisis, in which every effort seemed fruitless. A man on the verge of a nervous breakdown feels his will paralysed, and his thoughts tend to become fixed ideas. Haunted by a sense of ineffectiveness, the man with tired nerves feels not only that nobody loves him, but that he is a complete failure. If he is a religious man, what will strike him most is that he is a religious and moral failure: in one word, a sinner; faced with the highest standards, he sees them only to see how far he falls below them; and to

hear of them is to think of release in the opposite direction. If told "Thou shalt not feel violent desires for this or that", he begins immediately to feel them. And then a scrupulous conscience makes him miserable. The very commandment, wrote this man long afterwards, which was meant to point the way to life, pointed to death. The signpost was twisted round. "With the consciousness of the commandment," he wrote, "sin came to life"; its very excellence made him feel hopeless about his own state: he was, he said, a man of human weakness, bought as a slave by sin. And sin was death. "I died."

What was this mysterious power of mind which decided his will, which dwelt within him as a master enslaving him? It made his heart a battle-ground. He chose one thing and made resolutions accordingly, yet, when it came to the point, he acted differently. A man can no more control his temper and his feelings than he can control all his physical mechanisms. If he is tired and hungry, he becomes irritable. "Not what I will do I practise," confessed Shaul, "but what I hate I do that: for I fail to do the good thing I would: the evil that I would not, this I practice. In me, that is in my weak human nature, no good thing dwells. Wretched man that I am!" he burst out, "who will deliver me from the body of this death?"[2] It was all very well for the Jewish Rabbis to assure him that, if he were penitent, God would forgive: a man who is being led through the most passionate religious experiences can still be haunted by the sense of ineffectiveness and of sin. Despair torments him; he asks, "what rests? Try what repentance can, what can it not? Yet what can it, when one cannot repent?"[3] The more a man is ashamed of himself, and the more he suffers from the inner conflict, the more inclined he will be to wreak the strain on other people.

2

With this sense of ineffectiveness working havoc in his nerves, Shaul came back to Jerusalem to hear talk from the Parushim of an appalling blasphemy. The man who among two thieves had died naked, bleeding, and disgraced, had claimed not only that he fulfilled the prophecies concerning the Christos, but that he was greater than Abraham[4]; that he was in some unique sense of the very nature and being—the *Son*—of the Unnamable,[5] the JAHWEH who in the Septuagint was called THE LORD.

3

The young Rabbi from Tarsus was outraged. He could be nothing less. He was strictly trained: he was in his way a member of an aristocracy: on the one hand he wore the badge of a gentleman—Roman citizenship; he added to his social and political position a most precise Hebrew training: and he looked forward to a consummation when his training in learning and sanctity would be associated with a great prince and prophet—such as David had been and more still—one who would make the dignity of Israel universal, who would bring the Jews to dominate the Roman Empire.

What did he find? An obscure group of little education, no training and of no social consequence: people who had come from a humble and a doubtful milieu, setting up a new movement, starting out as a new and revolutionary sect, with the most extravagant claims centred on one who, after being charged with blasphemy, had been ignominiously executed. Had anything been wanting to scandalize an impeccable teacher, it was the claim that this so-called prophet was more than a

prophet, and that, in fact, after death he had arisen from the sepulchre, and given authority to his chosen twelve to go and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.

The novelty was startling: a new cult, a new and mysterious formula, a new way, different, obviously from the Torah which it claimed to fulfil: the learned and zealous Parush was as shocked by it as a rigid Sabbatarian Calvinist Scot of a hundred years ago would have been shocked by the claim of Irish labourers in Glasgow that their garish chapel, with its images and bells, was the holy place of the one true Church.

4

The course was clear: they must be scourged out of the way: the movement must be suppressed ruthlessly. The orthodox convention must be vindicated with every rigour. It was even more blatant than that: it was the case not merely of a false religion but of a criminal offence. You might as well have expected the Dean and Canons of Winchester a hundred years ago to have approved a cult of Tess of the D'Urbervilles after she had been hanged in the county gaol for the murder of a man with whom she had been living as his mistress, as that a Parush would believe that the scourged agitator was GOD.

5

Such an example, such a scandal could only lead the correct and virtuous to live more exactly, even if more humbly, their life of correctness and virtue, keeping to every iota of their rules and standards in sacred reading, in worship, in almsgiving,

in good works, in scrupulous attention to the code and tradition in standards of clean lives and simple living. For the Pharisaic type is a perennial type and is always conservative, cultured and rigid. It is so excellent and its temptations are so subtle that it recurs in the very religion which denounces it.

Self-righteousness is like a clean, lavender-scented handkerchief: it gives the flavour of taste, or exquisiteness, of superiority to all around it: it will not tolerate that those whom it despises should claim to be holier than its own sort.

What choice was there but to try by every means to suppress the movement? The offenders must be scourged out of existence: the orthodoxy, and the dignity of Israel, the expectation of a triumphant Messiah vindicated ruthlessly and with devouring zeal.

6

Of the many Hellenised Jews in Jerusalem one of the most gifted was Stephanos (his name meaning a Crown). Just at this time this young man began to preach with an extraordinary power that Jesus was the Christ. Like Shaul, he knew the Jewish Scriptures well: his personality was singularly elevated and attractive: he seemed less a man than an angel. His learning, his power as a speaker, the influence he exerted (for it was said that he had certain miraculous faculties) made him on the one side an object of love and admiration, on the other of outrage and scandal.[6]

Plans were made, as they had been a year or two before in relation to Jesus. A plot was completed: it was planned to trap him into some blasphemous expression, and finally he was brought before the supreme council of the Jews, the Sanhedrin. To them he spoke at great length: he showed himself fully

aware of the story of Abraham, of Isaac, of Jacob, of the migration into Egypt, of the birth and career of Moses. After reminding them that the attitude of the Children of Israel towards Moses had often been scornful and insulting, he came to the story of David and Solomon, and the building of the temple. He quoted the Book of Isaiah:

> The Most High dwelleth not in temples made by hands.
> The heaven is my throne, and earth is my footstool.
> What manner of house will ye build me, saith the Lord,
> And what is the place of my rest?[7]

Warming to his theme, the ardent young Hellenist turned in a fury of impatience on the purblind people who always refused to live according to the highest inspirations of the Spirit. Jews they might be formally: but where was that change of heart which the act of circumcision symbolised? In heart and mind they were *un*circumcised, and their necks were obstinately stiff. "Which of the prophets", he asked, with pressing intensity, "did not your fathers persecute?"[8] These had told long before that after them would come the Man of Righteousness, whom, he said to the people before him, "you have betrayed and murdered.—You who received the Law as it was ordained by angels and kept it not."[9]

7

This was a declaration of open war; as such it was accepted by Shaul and all his party. They were furious and showed their fury with a snarl like that of a dog. Stephanos was facing

deadly danger; but the prospect of it only increased his religious exaltation. His mind was absorbed in a rapture: "I see the heavens opened," he cried out, "and the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of God."

The vision and the claim inflamed in the Jews the sense of scandal. Shouting at the top of their voices, till a single impulse of excitement frenzied the seething mob, they rushed at him, and tearing off his clothes thrust him out of the city towards the deep valley of Hinnom below.

Then they let restraint go. They flung off their own clothes and as a pledge of their loyalty they laid them at the feet of the young leader whose zeal had roused them. Naked, they took up stones to hurl at the naked young man before them. He had soon fallen while the mob, rushing nearer, increased the weight of their assault. Stephanos, still in an ecstasy, but knowing that the end had come, cried out to the Master whose presence he felt: "Lord Jesus, receive my soul." And then in a last effort he rose on his knees, and exalted by a rapture that changed all bitterness into joy, he called on Jesus to forgive the men who were about to kill him. "Lord," he cried, "lay not this sin to their charge." Even as he spoke, a last stone had struck him down for ever.

8

Shaul had not thrown any of the stones, but he had not attempted to hold back the crowd. On the other hand, he had first joined in the denunciation and then urged them on. Sharing in the excitement of the mob, he went back to the city and made fresh inquiries as to where the pernicious movement could be found. Accompanied by his minions, he forced his way into the houses of the followers of Jesus: and dragged off

both men and women to jail. The more he succeeded the more hotly burned his angry zeal. One idea consumed him—to root out the new growth. It was not enough to scorch the sapling in Jerusalem. The mysterious plant was spreading in every direction, and he heard that it was shooting vigorously up in the fertile Syrian city where the waters of Hermon irrigated the border of the desert. He went to the high priest at Jerusalem and demanded authority to work in the synagogues there, planning first to make his arrests, and then to bring the innovators bound back to Jerusalem.

The mild old Rabbi, at whose feet year after year he had learnt wisdom, counselled a milder course: it was not the Hebrew way to rage furiously like the heathen; the God who was all merciful was almighty: against His will nothing could prosper. The truth was that with this new movement the old man's gracious soul felt a secret sympathy. In his mildness and holiness, authority was endued with charm: the people as a whole gave him reverence. To them he spoke advising care: would it not be more wise to confide the thing to God Most High? This Jesus was not the only teacher who had arisen: there had been a certain Theudas: there had been in Galilee still another man. Both had met their death and their followers had scattered. "What I say," said Gamaliel, "is this: leave these men alone for if their ideas or their work is simply another movement of agitators, it will come to nothing." But on this point the wise old Rabbi felt a benevolent doubt. "If it is from God," he said, "you will not be able to overthrow it, and perhaps you would be found to be fighting against God."

The old man's serenity lent his words influence. The followers of Jesus had had much success till Shaul returning—impetuous, fiery, eloquent—had taken the view more generally held by the Parushim and given a new impulse to the persecution which was encouraged by the Chief Priests.

9

Such was the position when Shaul obtained permission to go and attack the followers of Jesus in Damascus. He had suffered already too much from his inner conflict and its resultant exhaustion to take any line but that of violence: and besides, in his intense nature, so sensitive and yet so strict, there was a vein of revenge, which led him to ask that others should suffer as he had suffered.

The journey before him might have cured a more normal case of strain.

As the zealot rode away from Jerusalem with the cavalcade of camels, he passed over a rough, hilly region: he came gradually in Samaria to Jacob's well at Sichem; then winding on through Nablous he reached the green plain of Esdraelon, bounded at the west by Carmel and Sharon. At the northern end of it on a high hill was Mount Tabor: above was the village of Nazareth. The road then turned round eastward through the hills down to the Sea of Galilee where a settlement had been named after Tiberias, and an older one, Capernaum. He was now 500 feet below the sea level: all the more bracing the climb up to the hills above with the fine sight of Hermon and its snows and the beauty of the attendant hills. Shaul was to wind round Hermon: he had a choice of two routes, either to cross the turbid Jordan below the lake or to wind on towards Caesarea Philippi and go over a higher shoulder of the mountain. In either case he must soon be again in the desert, and looking out over a copper-coloured earth, the air dry and bracing in the fierce glare of the sun on the sand, while in the far distance he could vaguely discern the outlines of the city of Damascus, famous already as a city of desire, famous still among all the Bedouins of Arabia.

Damascus is one of the most ancient cities of the world. It

still survives when Tyre has become a fishing village, and Babylon a heap of dust. The desert is its defence. It has Hermon and Lebanon for neighbours. Their snows feed the rivers which give it bloom and life; and these have made a legend, and produce a thrill.

> Oh brother; 'mid far strands
> The palm-tree cinctured city stands.
> Bright white beneath as the heaven bright blue
> Leans o'er it while the stars pursue
> Their course.[10]

No minaret yet thrust its spires upwards from the green, but the waters flowing from Hermon had long since made fruitful gardens there; gardens not alone of vine and fig, but of peach and cherry; and through the desert came caravans and camels from the palms and bazaars of Mesopotamia.

As the avenging Jew wound down over the mountain into the dry heat, his nerves were already keyed up by a more than usual tension. There was electricity in the air. His exhilaration stripped naked the soul which he had long since exercised in the feats and gymnastics of the inner man. In his course upwards and inwards to the height where the soul moves, not of its own volition, but led by the hand, and held by the right hand, of the Spirit of God, the illusions and barriers of sense were dissolved, as finally, with a flash, the lightning of sudden heat blinded him; he and all with him fell to the ground. He was confronted by immense personal power, which carried his soul upwards and inwards beyond all imagining into the heart of reality; and through the thunder he heard a voice, speaking to him in Aramaic: "Shaul, Shaul, why persecutest thou Me?"[11]

10

He had now passed to those depths of experience which rule supreme. The voice that spoke to him was one whose command he could not question. Raptures, and the sense of marvel, his mystic sense had known—but what were they to this? Its command was absolute and so were its serenity and solicitude. He strove with giddy wits to question the instant Presence:

"Who art thou, Lord?"

With the same kingliness came the words:

"I am Jesus whom thou persecutest."

Then, comparing him to a harnessed animal to whom each movement of sulking haunches means a prick from the waiting goad, fixed there to prevent it, the Voice continued: "It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks".

The authority implied was accepted. He felt he was a harnessed animal, and that this new authority could control his impetuous genius as a master controls the simple donkey or the stubborn mule. He was filled with awe of the power that mastered him. Wondering where the rein was to guide him, he sought only to obey. "Lord, what dost thou wish me to do?" The answer came imperial: "Arise and go into the city and it shall be told thee what thou must do".

11

Like an Arab blinded and choked by the whirling sand of the Khamsin, a blankness, a complete humiliation, a long prospect of obedience, and with all these the glow and intimacy of trust, brought him a conviction of reality which he regarded for the rest of his life as final.

His Pharisaism had misled him: Gamaliel's warning had

pointed to the inner truth: the disease of sin needed a healer. The words and demeanour of Stephanos were not merely those of Stephanos: through him and in him was a mystery: Stephanos, and all those men and women whom Shaul had arrested and cruelly thrashed in Jerusalem, and whom he planned to bring bound from Damascus, all these *were actually Jesus*. They had the same air, the same atmosphere, the same spirit as the Master who had subdued him. And Jesus was alive in them, through them, beyond them.

Here was the reality of the Messiah, the Christos on whom he had meditated for so long. The Judge, the man of power, who was the Master of the world—here He was at last, beyond all question, and more mysterious than any had even dreamed.

Gigantic certainties paralysed the zeal of genius. The man who had seen the lightning found that he was literally blind!

(Lubinski)

DAMASCUS—THE STREET THAT IS CALLED "STRAIT"

(Kersting)

AQUABA—ON THE TRACK FROM DAMASCUS TO ARABIA

V

FILLED WITH THE SPIRIT

1

AS A PARUSH, HE HAD HAD HIS MYSTICAL AIM. EVEN FOR THE Parushim, "The need of the soul", as a contemporary Jewish scholar reminds us, "was for harmony with God, perfect accord between the human will and the divine. To attain to that harmony was the constant aspiration of the soul: and the idea was a harmony, perfect and unbroken. That which broke the harmony was sin and the means of restoring the harmony was repentance answered by forgiveness."[1] "Look how high the heavens are in comparison with the earth," said a famous Psalm, "so great is his mercy towards them that fear him. Look how far the East is from the West, so far hath he set our sins from us."[2]

Such was the more gracious side of the Parush system as it had been set before Shaul in Tarsus and Jerusalem. It naturally seemed to him that the new figure from Nazareth had been utterly unjust to it. But he was shown in a flash, blinding as noonday sun on glittering sand, that in its loftiest moments, his Jewish piety had been far from what he found as from Hermon he came down upon Damascus. Suddenly his standards had been altered, his aspirations transcended, his ideals outshone.

Thus Jesus, by appearing from the unseen, won the allegiance of the man who, at that time, was the most brilliant both in gifts and training of any in Syria, or indeed in the world.

A genius who had been developing the surrender to God of the deepest impulses of the heart, found that his own efforts were as nothing to that reach and grasp of God which

approached him, claimed him, received him, embraced him, and led him forward blindfold from darkness to darkness, from grace to grace. To see was to believe; to believe was to surrender his will. Long afterwards, he summed up the whole experience in one phrase: "I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision."[3]

2

It is too common to speak of visions as though they were materialisations: even in the more outward and imaginative form, they are a faculty to understand reality with the imagination: in their inner form they are more: they are a faculty of intellectual vision when the inner mechanism of interpretation receives an impression: to this mystical power of vision, words might well be added: for words go far into the inner consciousness.[4] The vision of Shaul on his way to Damascus was an immense addition to his mystical powers already accorded, an addition which left on all his subsequent life its authority and weight. He had seen through the telescope of the soul an astronomy which, in relation to other readings of the stars, was sovereign. And so intense was his light and his glass that it paralysed, as we saw, the physical nerves of sight.

Still surrounded by his party of conservative Jews, who had seen the light, but had not seen the heavenly vision which had overcome him, Shaul stumbled on through the afternoon and evening, blind to the sparkling waters, the delightful gardens, the gleaming domes, the quiet though crowded streets of Damascus. Many and many a time in the travel he was afterwards to take, he was so absorbed in his sense of inward life as not to notice the brightest scenes of beauty.

3

It happens with men of abnormal nervous energy—men of genius—that their whole physical organism responds to the desires and will. A need for action and they know no fatigue; their food is their enthusiasm. On the other hand, a shock, a disappointment, and they are exhausted; their appetite is gone, their physical life arrested. So it was now with the most dynamic Jew of the age: his whole nature—with its training, its learning, its energy, its zeal, its devotion to the Parushim, their Torah and their Halachoth—had received a shock. He had lived for Jahweh, as the Master of the heavens: now from the heaven itself in a brightness which he saw yet more clearly with his soul than his eyes could see the sand before him, there had appeared, with a voice of authority, Jesus, identifying Himself with the Jews who believed in Him.

4

As the senses of Shaul revived, he became aware of the outlines of his dilemma. How could he give orders to his attendants? How could he present the letters he had brought from the High Priest, if he must at the same time announce that he had become one of the very infidels he had come to arrest?—Had Hess when flying over Germany come to a sudden fervour for the British cause, he would not have been in a more awkward position. To his former friends, he became a traitor: he had nothing to convince the other side who had good reasons to distrust and punish him.

The convert remained helpless. First he was humbled: so grievous an error showed that his conscience was awry. On the other hand, he had promised obedience, and was told to wait.

He had long been accustomed, at moments of high spiritual tension, to lighten body and spirit by fasting. As night and day succeeded in quiescence, the lowering of his physical life was accompanied by a clearer insight into the nature of truth. Clearly this talk, as he had considered it, of the Resurrection of the Crucified Man he had despised, was simply the assertion of a fact. Jesus lived, and with a Caesar's authority. "It shall be told thee what thou must do."

5

After three days and nights of dependence, his expectancy was not surprised when a stranger came to his door in the long street at which he had found a lodging, the street called "strait." He had grown confident that the Lord who summoned his obedience would find a means to put him in touch with his new companions. The follower of Jesus appeared not to upbraid but to welcome the converted man. "Brother Shaul," he said, "the Lord Jesus who appeared on the road by which you came has sent me that you may receive your sight and be filled with the Holy Spirit."[5]

To his strain and waiting, this welcome gave swift relief. Suddenly he could see, he could move; at once Ananias decided that he should receive the rite of initiation on which those who walked the New Way already insisted. The community of Damascus was even then not devoid of teaching and of formulas, and Paul had opportunity to learn the meaning of the new religion and its forms.[6] Among these not the least important was that he should be immersed in water, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Through this symbolic act, uniting as it did with faith, he received a gift, a gift which, as he had learnt from the heavenly vision, made

the believer one with Him in whom he believed. From this washing he came forth not only refreshed but as one who had within him the springs of an unfathomable love. He had made the act, he had given the choice which bore him into courses beyond any he had asked or thought, to where even

Desire perishes of its own exceeding fire.[7]

He had done in a word that which was to be shown him to do. Forgiven, restored, illumined, and touched to the heart's quick, he came back to eat and to drink.

Again and again he was to refer to this baptism, combining it with the idea of faith as a fact (enforced by experience) which received him into Christ and raised him to newness of life. As an event it was critical. It transformed him.

6

The new mystical life into which he had been born now demanded a long spell of lonely communion with the Redeemer who had appeared and called him: he longed again for the solitude, the sand, the dry bracing air, the prodigious empty distances, the curious significance and atmosphere of the desert, its life of dependence upon Him who ordained the heaven above it, by day the sun, by night the moon and Orion. For month on month of solitary contemplation, in the silence and the sounds of the sandy wilderness and irresponsive air, he renewed his whole life in the mysteries of his new knowledge.

How far he journeyed none knew. Many think he remained in the desert between Damascus and Petra: others that passing the blue gulf of Akaba, he wandered on past Kadesh Barnea

to the Sinai where the Lord Jahweh had given the Torah to Moses; for that, as they rightly say, was what the Parush and the Jew understood by the word Arabia.[8] The all-important point was that, absorbed in solitary communion with God in the dry air of the wilderness, he watched the heavens till his own soul was renewed. Applying the precise instruction he had received at Damascus, he fitted the religion he had adopted into all that he knew of the Jewish Code and of the prophets.

For years he had prayed, for years he had sought to love God with all his heart and mind and soul and might, for years he had felt and known that the Lord was his shepherd, and that goodness and mercy would follow him all the days of his life—for years he had looked for the Messiah.

Now the yearning of those years was consoled. God's Holy Spirit had come to dwell within him, to give him the fulness of faith: he believed that by this Holy Spirit he had found the path of life; he had been led to a baptism which washed him clean from sin and made him live anew: he lived not only with but in the conscious power which had arrested him in the thunder flash; it was that of none other than the Messiah, the Christos of all their hopes.

Gradually he was to accustom his eyes to these immense vistas. For how could he have been born again of water and the Spirit into the life of this power within him unless the Jesus who had appeared between Mount Hermon and Damascus had been united as man with that Divine Word which, when all things were in silence, resounded from the Eternal Throne, and at whose vibrance the eternal hills and stars, with presences enthroned among them, had sprung to being and life? Such was the Power within him come to make captive every impulse and faculty of his genius and his heart till he could say, "I live no more: Christ lives in me."

For what was the gift within, unless, giving him his faith, it

was the Spirit which united with the I AM the CHRIST who was the wisdom and glory of the universe, the Light of Light, and God of God?

VI

COMING TO THE ROCK

1

HOW FAR THE FOLLOWERS OF JESUS HAD THEN MADE THEIR religion precise, it would be hard to say. There is no record from that time; it was only after many years that an account was given; but scholars are satisfied that the Way had already its marked lines, and even told something of the life of Jesus.

After the Ascension of Jesus, His Apostles had received the Divine Spirit which Jesus had promised them: they were filled by this Holy Spirit so that they were endued with power, and they preached the Resurrection—which also meant the death—as a proof of the supremacy of Jesus. "Let the house of Israel know assuredly", said the Apostle Cephas, "that God hath made Him both Lord and Christ this Jesus whom you crucified."[1] It is according to a general tradition they repeated such formulas as "Jesus is Lord" and "God has raised Him from the dead."[2]

This Cephas everywhere stood forward as the most prominent of the Apostles of Jesus. He exerted a miraculous healing power; he insisted that the revered leader whom God had raised from the sepulchre was the Prince of Life. The Lord Jahweh had sent Jesus to bless them; "Change your hearts therefore", he pleaded, "and be converted that your sins may be blotted out and that there may come seasons of refreshing from the Spirit of the Lord."[3] Christ the Rock was the foundation-stone, and there was neither health nor safety in any other: for there was no other name under heaven given among men, in which men must be saved.

Everywhere the Apostles spoke boldly and were filled with the Holy Spirit, and so great was the prestige of Cephas that they brought the beds of the sick out into the streets that at least his shadow going by might overshadow some of them: when it did so, they were healed every one.

2

Such were the circumstances in which the young Stephanos had spoken with wisdom and with power.

In all places Cephas and his company insisted that the power of the Holy Spirit had been given to them: they went each day into the temple, they went from house to house, and, says the chronicle, ceased not to preach Jesus Christ.

All their adherents they initiated by immersion in water, and by this mystery the initiate was baptised into the Christ. The whole community had a fixed life, repeating what the Apostles taught, sharing in the community, communing with God in prayer, and in that breaking of bread which, so Jesus had told them, they would do in remembrance of Him, as a mystical shewing forth of His death. This in turn they handed down to one another. He had said: "*Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am* I *in the midst of them.*"[4]

Such was the community which the converted Parush had joined; such were they who followed Him whom he followed; the fervour of his temperament and the force of his ability, strengthened by a grand visionary experience and contemplation, had in him followed the inner training of years under the mild influence of a saintly Master in Israel.

3

To his eagerness it had been given, as it had already been given to Stephanos and others, to realise how everything in the Law, the Prophets, and above all the Psalms, combined to show that the Messiah for whom the Israelites had been looking was greater than they had dreamed; that He would come to suffer tribulation: but that none the less, and in fact even the more for this very reason—that it proved a love undreamed of—this Messiah was more than a prophet. When Shaul came back from the desert to Damascus, his conviction was supported with a completeness of Hebrew learning far beyond theirs.

He could prove from passage after passage, with the addition of apt illustrations and arguments, and with all the force of mystical insight, not only that they were guided by the Holy Spirit, but that the Holy Spirit had shown him that in a unique sense Jesus was the Son of God.

4

The doctrine, we have seen, was stupendous. That in the mystery of the heavens the unnameable and eternal Lord had in His own order a Son, begotten from the beauty of holiness in the womb of the morning, and that this Son had assumed into Himself the nature of Man; this Son of God, in a word, was the Christos. But to hear this daring doctrine from the man who had been scattering and destroying the followers of Jesus; from the man who had come to Damascus for this very purpose that he might bring them back as prisoners to the High Priest at Jerusalem—this indeed left them astounded!

It was not only the followers of Jesus who listened: others came also and asked a similar question: "Isn't this the man who

in Jerusalem was attacking those which called on this Name?" To these Jews Shaul turned his argument. His words were weighted with the power of conviction: far from yielding before them, he faced them with reasons so strong as to amount to proof.

5

Some were won over: others, furious, conspired with the Arab officials of the King of Petra, Aretas. To a movement they distrusted, Shaul added a force which produced suspicion alike from civil officials and Jewish zealots: the universal law which sets national standards against the inward and supernatural powers put him in danger of his life. His friends became aware of hostility and suspicion; by the curious mixture of swift observation with intuition which, through the centuries, marks the oriental mind, it was understood that Shaul who came to arrest others was himself to be arrested. He had betrayed the order he came to serve: he had produced an enthusiasm which seemed to undermine known prestige and order with new values. The distrust was natural. He must be silenced.[5]

His house was watched: the guards were waiting for him to come out to preach yet once more: his friends saw everything that was happening. How could they save him?

There was only one way. The house in which he lodged had an aperture in the city wall. The minds of his friends were soon at work: a basket was brought, a rope attached, provisions gathered, the eloquent and learned Rabbi was placed in the basket, and then gradually, in the night, the rope was lengthened till he found himself outside the wall, and before long he was on his way back to Jerusalem by the very road he had travelled in such different circumstances three years before.

6

Whether he walked alone, or whether, as is more probable, he waited for a caravan, we cannot tell. But now once more he traced his way back through the scenes of Galilee, past Capernaum, past that level in the hill where Jesus had fed the multitude, past Nazareth where for years He had served as a craftsman in wood and metals, past Tabor where He had been transfigured, past Nain where He had raised to life a widow's dead son, past Jacob's well at Sichem where He had told a woman all the things she had tried to keep hidden in her past life, and where He had said "God is a Spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth", past the spot where, as a boy, returning from Jerusalem His parents had found that He was missing, till he came to Jerusalem where He had been Crucified and Risen again.

But now Shaul found difficulty confronting him once more —the followers of Jesus, naturally surmising that this conversion was a new trick to entrap them, were all afraid. On the other hand, he—the most promising Parush and Rabbi of his age—had gone against all his former loyalties, had gone over to the Man whom other Rabbis and Parushim hated, and whom the High Priest had contrived to have executed. Again he was in a quandary: again he prayed: again a convert appeared and helped him.[6]

7

The man who now came to his rescue was like himself a man of position, and a Hellenised Jew of the Diaspora. While Shaul came from Tarsus in Cilicia, this Yusuf, who was to be called the Son of Consolation, Barnabas, came from Baffa in Cyprus.[7] He had surrendered all his resources to his new com-

munity: to it he offered his life and with it his kindliness, his wisdom and his generosity.

Training, judgment, and intuition combined to show him the value of the ardent genius who in the beginning of manhood had come back from Damascus changed from persecutor to protagonist. The Cypriote learnt his story: and then decided to lay it before the man who by the ardour of his temperament, and the firmness of his faith stood out preeminent among the Apostles of Jesus, and who was now known as Cephas, the Rock—among the Hellenists by its translation—Petros. He had lived in close intimacy with the Master who had found him on the shores of the Lake of Gennesareth busy with his nets, and who had promised to make him a fisher of men. He was one of those born amid simple surroundings to be a leader. Warm-hearted, impetuous, direct, his open face fitted with a rounded beard to give an impression of spontaneous yet spiritual radiance. He gave himself whole-heartedly, reserving nothing: yet like all impetuous people, he would at times recoil from his own swift advances, lest they had been rash. But, with his trust and expansiveness of nature, he received with ardour all that he heard from the wealthy Cypriote convert of this other and more brilliant adherent, who had received the personal call of that Master who, by a word at Gennesareth, had changed the whole current of his own life. He knew in the depths of his being the miraculous power of Jesus over the soul and heart that He had chosen. Cephas did not hesitate for a moment, but, receiving Shaul as a brother, asked him to come and share his own house, and told him what he himself knew from his intimacy with Jesus.

A more absorbing story never fell upon a more attentive ear.

Shaul longed to tell others his own story: but it was too much to expect of flesh and blood that the friends of Stephanos should listen to the fierce Parush they looked on as his mur-

derer. Shaul sought rather to argue in Greek with unconverted Jews who spoke Greek: but hardly had he begun when his words produced a storm.

How could the Parushim resist a feeling of indignation at this renegade? How could the Hellenist Christians forget the part he had played in the murder of Stephanos? In both came a fury of hatred; which made it natural to recall and to apply to himself his own arguments in favour of persecution. There was in his personality something too dynamic to ignore. Everywhere he was as disturbing as a typhoon: the feeling was so violent that it was seen that Shaul might well be treated as he himself had treated Stephanos.

Then again he had a vision of Jesus. He heard the voice of authority saying: "Make haste and get quickly out of Jerusalem."[8] He recalled in answer how he himself had taken a lead in persecution and was warned now that he was to be sent among the nations.[9]

From this second vision came convictions and impulses not incomparable to the first. He was being shown with blinding clearness what to do. Escaping over the hills to Lydda and Caesarea, he there took ship to return to the mouth of the Cydnus. Barnabas went to argue the new case on the river Orontes in the Seleucid capital, Antioch. For several years he stayed there while Shaul, passing from mature manhood to middle age, had ample time to reflect on all he had learnt from James and Cephas[10] while he preached the New Way in his boyhood's home at Tarsus, and accommodated his new thought to their Hellenised centre and university which had mingled with all the earliest impressions of a fascinating world.

VII

THE PROBLEM OF THE MYSTERIES

1

NOW, HOWEVER, HE FACED ANOTHER PROBLEM. AS A BOY, AS A youth, it was how to live as a Jew, keeping the Torah in a Hellenised centre of culture: as a young Rabbi, it was to win others to Judaism. Now it was how to win over both Jews and Hellenists to a new conception: to live by the power of the Spirit in the Christ. He recalled the voice that he was to travel far and carry a message to people other than his own: his elastic mind began to take a passionate interest in views that he had once despised: he developed to the full his natural Jewish adaptability: he became all things to all men:[1] to the Jews he spoke as a Jew. As for the non-Jews, he must seek out every possible affinity between their views, their systems and his own: he looked therefore at Hellenic culture with a new interest; a great general must have enough sympathy to understand his enemy, if he is preparing an attack on those whom he could not hope to subdue unless he duly appreciated their resources.[2]

2

The Hellenistic Jews had been subtly influenced by the atmosphere which they breathed. But the aim of the converted Rabbi was something new. It was a scrutiny of the lives and ideals of all around him for something on which he could build up the appeal of a new mystery.[3] Before this time his unconscious sympathy with any friends who were not Jewish had

been atrophied with a sense of superiority, which inclined him to recoil. The Torah—even when most significant and most sublime; the idea of Wisdom—even when most subtle—had been constricted and dim in comparison with the light and love beaming from the Holy Spirit now dwelling within him.[4]

3

The problem with which all the cults of the time set out to deal was the fear of death and the craving for eternity. The people of the time were one with Cleopatra in feeling immortal longings. The cult of Mithra satisfied this at the same time as it gave a philosophical explanation of the universe: like the Greeks, it made time a God: it identified the idea of a first cause with the Sun; in its reverence for the stars and the elements, it exalted the physics and the astronomy of the Greco-Roman world into a spiritual system.[5] While this appealed to the intellectuals, Mithraism taught also that

> Holy were the haunted forest boughs
> Holy the earth, the water, and the fire—[6]

that the simple man could find in the nature which sustained him powers to venerate or to fear. "The stars that shone in the sky, the wind that whispered in the foliage, the spring or brook that bubbled down the mountain side, even the earth he trod under his feet were in his eyes divine, and all surrounding nature provoked in him a worshipful fear." So writes M. Cumont.[7] The writer of Wisdom had said of others like them "that the whistling wind, the waterfall, the roaring of wild beasts, the melodious noise of birds among the spreading branches, the echo rebounding from the hollow of the moun-

tains had made men craven with fear";[8] but a good Hebrew could be thankful for such things: for "at the commandment of the Holy One the glory of the stars will stand in their order as the beauty of heaven, and never faint in their watches."[9]

When Shaul looked out on the worshippers of Mithra, he could see that like those of the way of the Christ, they purified themselves by baptism: that they expected from a holy meal salvation of body and soul. They practised renunciation, and encouraged not only continence but chastity. Like the Jews, too, they knew of a heaven and a hell: they remembered a great flood; like the Parushim, they believed in the resurrection of the dead, and they taught that this was to follow the last judgment and the conflagration of the universe.[10]

4

But the God he worshipped had come down to give life to all men and was the light of every man coming into the world, even of those who sought him in what they called their mysteries. These mysteries had many different rituals and senses. From Egypt came those of Isis, and of Serapis who under Ptolemy I had taken over the qualities of Osiris. In Phrygia there were those of Sabazios, in Syria those of Baal and Adonis, in Asia Minor those of Cybele, and from Persia the great mystery of Mithra.

What did they offer? A symbolic path from things outward to inner powers, from dullness through emotion and ecstasy to more reality and more inspiring experience, from the fear of death to life eternal. They all taught that man has within him an element of the divine, and that by an appropriate ritual and discipline he could enter on that path to things eternal which was the way of life and salvation; in each there were rites of

purification, in each a ritual leading to a gift of strength and power, in each some form of communion, in each a sense of partaking of eternal life. The mysteries, Cicero had written, have given "not only good cause why we should live joyously, but also a better hope in death."

Isis personified all that is sacred in the woman and the mother. Often she bore her babe in her arms. Those who worshipped her lived as guests in her temple: there they were given an initiation which revealed her grandeur, and then, dwelling with her image, they were honoured when it was honoured.

Apart from sacrifices, there were rites or mysteries which were thought to procure, either for time or eternity, a magical advantage, or a delirious excitement. Sometimes it was a feast —such as that which drew the Carians together before the Zeus of Panamara to share benefits alike with one another, and their deity. Sometimes in frenzied dances they coursed wildly through the forests to the sounds of flute and tambourine. Other devotees, excited by their wine, sought ecstasy in the cult of Dionysus: sometimes, the more sophisticated, cultivating theories about the etheric nature of the soul, adopted an elaborate symbolism to indicate the progress at which the soul had arrived.

In the mysteries of Isis the devotee was invested with robes figured with stars; in those of Mithra, he passed through a succession of doors, signifying the planes or spheres through which the soul reascends to the ether. A little later, in an arcaded temple at Rome, they engraved among butterflies and winged victories, figures of Eros and Hermes to symbolise their hopes of overcoming death and attaining resurrection. Sappho, after diving into the sea, was shown to attain it in the presence of Apollo.

In every case the mysteries were a means of assisting the soul

to free itself from gross matter and ascend to higher levels: few, however, insisted on a moral effort to accompany the ritual act.

But the idea that Shaul owed his own teaching to a study of Mithraic mysteries in Tarsus cannot be sustained.[11] Some scholars have avowed such conjectures: none have come near to providing proof. "The connexion between the Mithraic doctrine and St. Paul's teaching", says Mr. Patterson after an exhaustive study, "is very dubious."[12] Dr. Kennedy agreed with him long since: "The central Pauline conception, which we have just examined, has no real equivalent in the Mystery Religions".[13]

Reitzenstein himself insisted how absurd it was to think that Paul, either as a pious and exclusive Parush, or as an enthusiastic convert to Christ, had been initiated into heathen mysteries, or had been likely to have won the confidence of Mithraic worshippers.[14] It was not the study of Greek philosophy that influenced the faithful Hebrew, but rather the ideas of philosophy and revelation which were coloured by it in certain byways between theosophical speculation and the works of the magicians. Such speculations were current among the Jews of the Diaspora.[15] In spite of many differences, they can be more easily understood by undeniable resemblances in one memorable case.

5

At Alexandria, in Shaul's early years, or before, an illumined Israelite was explaining his religion to the Greek-speaking Platonists.

Philo had a profound knowledge of the Septuagint: he interpreted it not only as the Torah of Jahweh, but as the

νόμος τοῦ κυρίου —the law of the Lord: and as the Book of Wisdom recommended, he worked out Hebrew history in parable and allegory. For him in fact history had become philosophy. He harmonised with Platonism the Law and the Prophets. To him God was above all a mind, a Mind with ideas which were the archetypal forms of things. He taught that the Divine Mind, completed in a perfectly expressed idea, was the Logos which was at the same time conceived and generated.[16]

Judaism was presented in a way to suit the Platonic idealists. As for man, Philo taught that he was a compound of body and vital principle, but he had in him also a divine power of intuitive reason to which God had given the breath of life.[17] To the Jews, the mind of Philo seemed almost Greek, while to the Greeks he remained a Jew. Here was a model for Shaul to use in later years when he was approaching minds moulded by the idealism of the Stoics.

6

Above all Philo believed in the goodness of God. If one asked what is the principle of the created universe, the most accurate answer would be God's grace.[18]

What was this grace? The word was not found in the Septuagint, except for one or two passages. "The Lord will give grace and glory and no good thing will He withhold from those that live a godly life."[19] Or in Zechariah one might read that God would "pour forth a spirit of grace and compassion".[20] These were enough, however, for Philo to develop his sense of a divine love and favour which are the source of all those inward blessings that give us a share in God's perfection.[21]

The idea was sketched in Philo, but nowhere else.

As Philo taught the meaning of grace, so he taught also the meaning of faith.[22] Just as the word "prophecy" first means a knowledge of the future, and then goes on to emphasize the relation to God implied by the knowledge, so the confidence of faith in the promises of God implies that God is the master of every event, and events themselves are of value only in so far as they are the signs of God working within them; it is this mystical fountain of trust in God which Philo calls faith. "To rid oneself of learning and believe in God only is the act of a great and Olympian thought, which is no longer overwhelmed by the nothing which surrounds us."[23]

Yet no doubt Jowett was right when he said there were very bizarre notions in the mind of Philo, and passages as tedious as the platitudes of a modern sermon![24]

7

Whether Shaul had actually read the works of Philo we can never know; we do know that his ideas were current in the air of the time, and whether by direct knowledge, whether by the study of papyri which have since perished, or by a general wave of enthusiasm they reached Cilicia and the Orontes Valley. They were acted upon by a mind of impetuous swiftness, and searching eagerness; its poetic power raised these to the standard of genius.

But to emphasize the human genius of Shaul would be misleading. He was a man transformed by spiritual experience: he had received immense favours which often came as revelations. He joined to his unique power of rapid and enthusiastic apprehension, both as scholar and as man of the world, the insight of an advanced mystic: a mystic living by his faith.

What is a mystic? To be precise, it means one who had given up the human modes of knowledge and activity to a certain quiet in which he caught from afar the echoes of heavenly voices; the passiveness of his own mind and will allowed the will of God to act upon him more directly. Why had Shaul wished to be a Rabbi but to learn the secrets of holiness? They had been opened to him with his reading of the holy books and poems. To the command: "Be still and know that I am God",[25] he had answered: "Open Thou mine eyes that I may see the wondrous things of Thy law".[26] And now that he saw them more and more in the Christ, these things were wondrous indeed. In his surrender of his own faculties in adoring calm, the inspired words had remained in memory as the echo of the heavenly voice. The high poetry which he had learnt by heart became the living Spirit telling of immeasurable truth.

In the loneliness of the desert, he had already gone from height to height of contemplation: his intense convictions came from those depths of mystical consciousness which have a sovereign authority.

In ordinary relationship a thing seen passes from the sense impression to an image which is interpreted by the intelligence: in intuition, the intelligence can grasp a direct impression, or add so much to memory and impression that knowledge is both more intimate and more distinct than by the other processes of knowledge. But besides such modes of apprehension there is the life where intuition itself is exalted by the direct action of the Holy Spirit. Then the mind is enlarged to use faculties not its own. Its will and constancy are strengthened: it receives a guidance: it enjoys an intuition into the being and nature of things: it lives in loving confidence and confiding love: it is able to perceive the relation of things to one another, and to the

divine purposes: it concentrates on the things of God and, above all, it savours the meaning of life and the universe: for it discerns it to be God's creation. All these powers intermingle with one another through acts of thanksgiving and praise which lift the soul to adoration.[27]

9

As Shaul received these gifts, they mingled in his life with that central revelation in the sand outside Damascus, with the mysterious presence of Him for whom he had always longed, the priest, the prophet, the judge, the King, the Lord's Anointed, the CHRIST.

In his mystical apprehensions, the two facts were supreme. The Christ had been crucified. The Christ had risen again.

Accustomed to allegorical interpretations which read theological implication into history, his mind saw these events flashing with light. The Resurrection proved the Divineness of the Man of Nazareth; and yet this man of sovereign power died in torment the death of a disgraced slave. That meant that the Christ had chosen to sacrifice Himself that He might put others right with God by pouring His life, His blood into them, by accepting themselves into this mystery. The desire for initiation and redemption, the seeking for communion through a sacrifice, the belief that the life was in the blood, were joined together, consummated and satisfied in this Christ into whom he had been taken.

Shaul went in his orison from height to height. He received visions and revelations from the Lord till he was caught up into Paradise, and in the third heaven saw things which it is not lawful for man to utter. He knew that in those heights of prayer he was led and taught directly in what he called revela-

tion.[28] Whether he was still in his body, or out of the body, he knew not. All heaven was at his feet, and he was amazed at the riches of the glory with which he had been endowed. He enjoyed already those experiences of union which were to return to mystics through the ages.[29]

10

"And in the soaring track of revelation, lest I should be excessively exalted," he wrote, "there was sent to the flesh a pricking point, an angel of Satan to smite me, to prevent me being excessively exalted. Three times I begged the Lord on account of this that I should be released from it, and He said to me, 'Sufficient to thee is My grace: for power is made perfect in weakness'."[30]

Through the centuries men have debated what this "angel of Satan" was. They have seen in it, on the physical side, sharp physical pain, malaria, ophthalmia, epilepsy, nervous disorder: on the moral side trials and temptations. For malaria, with its stabbing pain in the head, its bouts of prostration and shivering, and its acute attacks of depression, Sir William Ramsay has made out the most excellent case, and to this must be added the fact that Shaul afterwards said he was compelled through weakness to go to Galatia, as though obliged by his malaria to quit the coast and go inland. But, on the other hand, we must remember that his habitual use of the word flesh meant the weakness of human nature. "He was wont to call by the name flesh not the natural body," says St. Chrysostom, "but the depraved will . . . for by the flesh he does not mean the body—it is the earthly mind, slothful and careless."[31] This view is well borne out by the use of the word flesh in the Old Testament.

Let us also remember that in Mediterranean countries animals are to this day often goaded on with a sharp-pointed stake. Shaul was a man of furious temperament: his early zeal had taken the form of cruelty: as his temperament had little of the normal inclination towards women, this nervous excitability may well have taken the form of either extreme irritability, or some more obscure and unusual temptation, which at times was as painful and humiliating as a blow——. If this is so, the Latin translation, *stimulus carnis*—the spur of the flesh —may well carry this idea of a torment to the weakness of his nature.

If it had been an illness, it would have been natural to ask for a cure, especially in a day when the Apostles displayed the gifts of healing. But here the answer, which itself came as a revelation in direct words from the very Christ who had arrested in the sand his rage for persecution, was: "Sufficient to thee is My *grace*".

It is just possible that his main meaning, however, was the physical humiliation of persecution. That, when he said he was smitten, he meant this literally. He may quickly have come into conflict with the strict Jews among whom he had lived. For he related afterwards that he was scourged many times; and it was possible that this hideous and disfiguring torment was in his mind, as a humiliation to counter his ecstasies.

Whether, then, the angel of Satan came to him in the form definitely of a scourge, or of a germ, or of his own excitable temperament—or, as is not impossible, in the reactions of these on one another—researchers may continue to conjecture, but they will not determine. Ruthless as the scrutiny has been, it cannot lay bare the humiliation that Shaul trusted to delicacy to veil. But not the less plain is the essential meaning he intended to convey: at the same time as he was far advanced in the mystical life, with revelations, with visions, with raptures and

ecstasies so lofty that they raised him to paradise and shewed him things too sublime for words and images even to hint, he had some human failing — or disability — or chastisement — from which he longed and prayed to be free: on the other hand, through divine grace, this enabled him to live more supernaturally; as his self-confidence failed, he leant more on faith: as his own faculties weakened and died, the Christ lived in him.

This is a story which many souls and mystics have repeated: and most of them look to him as their master.

11

Therefore he could in deepest truth say that he lived *in Christ*. He had, by study, come on such words as grace and faith, and seized and grasped them, till in his hold they gained such a shine and ardour as few words had had before; grace was a joyful participation graciously accorded in the inner life of Christ in God; faith, as a quality of this grace, was not merely an assent through the mind of the whole being to trust in God's promises and His word until it became a sharing in the mind and sureness of His Christ. But it meant also a divinely accorded inclination of heart and will to a fidelity embracing every instinct and every faculty of the believer's nature.

12

To this man, thus prepared, came the invitation from the cultivated Cypriote who had come to his rescue in Jerusalem to join him in a great populous capital, as crowded and varied in

relation to Tarsus, as New York is to Princeton, Frankfort to Heidelberg, or Marseilles to Aix. Whether Barnabas felt that Shaul should be rescued from persecution, or that his gifts would receive full play only in the opportunities of the capital of the Seleucid dynasty, no one has related. All we know is that some time in the nine obscure years after his return to Tarsus from Damascus, his Cypriote protector, who combined enterprise with magnanimity in a genial expansive nature, summoned him from Cilicia to the Orontes—and he came.[32]

VIII

IN CYPRUS AND LYCAONIA

1

A JOURNEY OF SIXTEEN MILES UP THE ORONTES FROM SELEUCIA brought him to the most impressive site of the Levant. At that point the last extension of the wild Taurus range terminated, cut by the broad sparkling river. From the opposing side of this, the Lebanon threw out in final grandeur the lofty and abrupt declivities of Silpius. Unabashed by the crags and ravines of the mountain, the Syrian kings of the House of Seleucus had stubbornly raised a wall so that over bulwark and bastions of impregnable strength the castellated line of lofty heights threw a startling picturesqueness against the southern sky. Such was the site which Seleucus Nicator had chosen. For close on three hundred and forty years, his house had glorified it.

The city the Syrians had made splendid was yet further enriched after the Roman conquest. Where many pointed minarets now proclaim the greatness of Allah, then aqueducts, baths, basilicas and temples gave to the architecture the rounded completeness of the Roman. The traffic of the city centred on a corso more than a league long, paved with marble; and marble, too, was a double row of columns set upon either side to form an arcade. The city was unique in Asia in possessing an admirable collection of statues—masterpieces of the unapproached sculpture of Hellas at its finest bloom; here the beautiful mythology of Greece called cosmopolitan fancy to delight in the classic fable. Again and again a shrine or statue called for fealty to Apollo, and a delightful spot some two hours'

walk above the city took from Achaia the name of Daphne.

With these poetic fancies of the world of gods and heroes, renewing the inspirations of Ida, Parnassus and Olympus, the Syrians brought their own cults and mysteries as at Tarsus. Certain quarters of the city bore oriental-sounding names — Gandigura, Charandana. The island on which the Kings had built their sumptuous palace was known by the Arabic word *Ghisira;* while, with an eye for effect, the ruling citizens built their villas in the declivities of the mountain where, among torrents and waterfalls which plashed down the depths of the ravines, the fresh verdure of laurel and myrtle spread their polished leaves above hyacinth, anemone, and cyclamen. Here at night one might imagine the hanging gardens of Semiramis. Such was the enchantment which power and wealth had added to the grandeur of mountain and river.

The crowd of inhabitants gave its undeniable culture other flavours. At certain games, bands of damsels performed their rhythmical exercises in the lightest attire. The cosmopolitan crowd which thronged the length of the Corso with the songs, the parodies, the jests in which frivolousness found vent, made it like a pantomime. Beneath their occasional wits was a temper of fickleness, of faction, of indulgence: for they were people less virtuous than voluptuous.[1]

Thus silky Syrians and versatile Greeks combined to surround with the spirit of carnival an immense colony of Jews. Of these not all were models. For there, as elsewhere, Jews could revel, and find their pupils, in corruption: but the stricter could not but feel a grim superiority as they passed beside the naked statues of the gods of Hellas to worship in their austere synagogues. There, in answer to the question: "Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord or who shall stand in His holy place?"[2] came the reply: "He that hath clean hands and a pure heart, and who hath not lifted up his soul unto vanity".[3]

2

Thus, to the crude contrasts of a capital already as populous as was Paris itself in the reign of Louis Philippe, came Barnabas to call the Hebrews to the New Way. His movement had some distinguished converts among many humble ones. Among the leaders was a foster brother of King Herod. Here Barnabas could offer a fitting field for the versatile and soaring genius of his Cilician protégé.

Here then they lived the life of contemplation, of piety, of charity, of reading the Scriptures, of recounting the story of the Christ, of Breaking the Bread which showed forth the mysteries of His death, and of finding in all they taught and all they had a mind to do the direct illumination of the Divine Spirit. Knowing that man does not live by bread alone, they refined their natures with fasting, and sought for an eternal light that they might worthily minister the Holy Mysteries: through prayer and contemplation, they sought how best to serve the Most High. They were assured that the Holy Spirit was guiding them with His counsel. They felt that they must spread afar the glad tidings of their good things.[4] They planned to return on the wings of the morning to the smiling beaches, the wooded valleys and mountains, the temperate, delicate air of the island where Barnabas had been a boy.

3

The scene of their departure was sublime. Before them lay the open sea in brilliant colour; behind them, the Jebel-el-Akrab rose above declivities luxuriously wooded to a peak some five thousand feet high. At dawn on a clear morning, the blue outlines of Cyprus could be discerned across the water. With a

favourable wind, a voyage of a few hours was enough to bring them to Famagusta.

No one can fail to enjoy travel in this delightful island. What route these travellers took we do not know. Whether they saw Nicosia and the indented northern coast, whether they crossed the mountains at Troödos, or whether they took the southern road past Limassol, they travelled westwards through the island till they came to Baffa, then called Paphos. Suave airs, sunshine, and woods were the background of their message that the King of Glory had come down to dwell with men.

But at Baffa, new adventures were awaiting them. For there, a Roman Proconsul, Sergius Paulus, had set up his praetorium. At Baffa, therefore, they found themselves for the first time in direct touch with the Roman administration.[5] The Romans even then were an urbane, cultured and tolerant people, slightly sceptical about mysteries, profoundly attached to institutions. This proconsul was not merely cultured: he was a man with an open mind. As one who knew how to govern in the East, he was far too shrewd to ignore the occult. He heard that two cultured Israelites had come to the island with new, far-reaching and powerful ideas: he summoned them to an interview that he might satisfy his search; Shaul appeared before him, able to claim the dignity of Roman citizenship; and his fine mind, trained in the Cilician capital, could not but make an impression on the able Italian.

4

But he was not the first Jew to have attracted the benevolent curiosity of this Proconsul. For Sergius Paulus had already in his little court one of those men—partly conjurors, partly wizards—who combine trickery with the black arts. This wan-

dering Jew was naturally infuriated at seeing his own influence threatened by the arrival of fellow-countrymen of a different order. He did his best to discredit them, and their teaching. He attacked it before the Proconsul. The conflict was not merely personal, it was occult.[6] The forces in the two systems had come into direct collision.

With the swift and dynamic intuition of a man living in Christ, Shaul not only sensed the sinister mixture of power and cunning, but declared battle against it with temperamental fury. "Son of the Devil," he said with emphasis, as he fixed upon the sorcerer the mesmeric power of his eyes, "you man full of every deceit, of every trickery, you enemy of everything straightforward, will you not cease to impede the noble ways of the Lord? Look now, the hand of the Lord is upon you, and you will be blind—so blind that for a time you will not see the sun itself."

A paralysis, kindred to that which had paralysed Shaul himself outside Damascus, now, and for kindred reasons, raised a mist before the eyes of the Syrian magician. The dark forces he had controlled failed him; facing a power and will immensely stronger than his own, he found that he could do nothing. His whole imposture failed like a mirage. As Shaul had done approaching Damascus, he sought some one to lead him by the hand.

Conscious not less of supernatural power than of furthering the truth he was expounding, Shaul continued his appeal to the Proconsul, who was both impressed by the miracle, and touched by the nobleness of what he heard.

5

Whether either openly or secretly he entered the New Way has been a subject of dispute. Again Sir William Ramsay pro-

(Exclusive)

THE LIFE OF ST. PAUL

From an illuminated MS. of the IX Century in the Library of St. Paul, Rome

St. Paul explains the Scriptures to the Jews
St. Paul hears the voice of God
St. Paul, blinded, is led to Damascus
Ananias heals St. Paul's sight
Ananias receives inspiration from God
St. Paul preaches to the Gentiles
St. Paul is let down from the wall in a basket

duces a brilliant case for the contention that he did so: but other scholars remain sceptical. Through the ages there have been many men of culture and position who see the truth and power of the Catholic Church without joining it; this Italian Proconsul in Cyprus may have been among the first of them. That would not prevent him employing for his new friend the many resources of his position and his experience.

However that may be, the fact is clear that only after this time did the great convert make much of his Roman citizenship.

Yet more remarkable is it that from henceforward the chronicler drops the Hebrew name, which alone had been employed up to now; henceforth he writes Paulos. Did the benevolent Proconsul suggest this? Did he attach his own name? Or should we prefer the coincidence that the first Roman to listen to Christ's ambassador had the very name that this ambassador had first taken as a Roman citizen? So vague is our information that it is even possible that though, in later years, this Jew claimed that he inherited Roman citizenship, the Proconsul had first shown to the man who had so deeply impressed him and satisfied his search the citizenship's full value in Roman eyes.

The word Saulos, however, is not a pleasant word: it means not merely a conceited or affected person, but a conceited person who shows off certain protuberances of his figure by his way of walking: it was not merely a ridiculous word: it was a word that had a faint flavour of something more acrid. An Italian man of the world, who knew the Hellenes, would be the first to counsel a change.

When Jews change their name, they generally like to keep some connection, if it is a mere initial, with the name they have borne as Jews.[7]

But if they changed the initial, they could keep the rest. And if the name of this powerful patron would enable him to make

this convenient change, was not this as providential as his victory over the Syrian magician? The fact that Sergius Paulus and his family remained in Cyprus would counsel a certain reticence in relating the change.

The conjecture that the great preacher owed to Sergius Paulus a knowledge of how to avail himself of the Roman citizenship with which he was born must then be placed with the others to explain why he, who afterwards claimed the Roman citizenship, had nevertheless at some time in his life been punished with two Roman scourgings, as no Roman citizen could be. It would explain also why henceforth he and not Barnabas became the leader.

6

From the shrine of Aphrodite in the ancient Paphos, ships sailed across the sparkling waves of the Mediterranean to a shrine on the blue shores of Pamphylia. But Paul was making for the mouth of the Kestros; to the right, the waves tossed laughter all the way to the blue Karamanian coast, where the peaks of the Taurus stood in absolute light. Some ten miles up the little river another temple had been built for Aphrodite. Around this had been built a flourishing little town.

Here the rapidly developing cosmopolitanism of Paul, or his taste for travel, or the calls of a Jewish home, proved too much for one of the party. The young cousin of Barnabas, Marcus, who had come from Jerusalem, and travelled with them through Cyprus as an attendant, declined to go further in the way of enterprise.[8]

And Paul himself fell ill. Those whom the enervating and malarial air of the coast had weakened were advised to take the cure. It was to ascend through the pass of the Taurus to

the high Lycaonian plain which, set well over 3,000 feet above the sea, enjoyed a dry and bracing air. The journey up long valleys, past groves of walnuts into the pines, was delightful. They could not begin their journey from Seleucia till spring had calmed the sea. And the season was now so far advanced towards summer that the people began to move into the mountains for their Yailah. With camels and donkeys, with flocks and herds, the families have for centuries migrated at this time of the year into the cool heights of the mountains. If the health of Paul was affected, he would be the more constrained to go. Even in those days tombs and inscriptions marked the road, which was made partly of artificial pavement, and partly of natural marble. In the earlier part of June the oleanders spread out their branches over the banks of the watercourses in flashes of brilliant crimson. As the travellers climbed up the track, the fruit-trees gave way to oak-woods and these to pine and walnut, and these again to the cedar and the juniper, while the plane tree spread its broad leaves over the stream which dashed down the ravine, crossing and re-crossing the dangerous road. On the lower ground the crocus was in bloom; in the higher altitudes, the scarlet anemone.

The air freshened, and the nights grew cold, and before long clouds were seen floating among the precipices, and at times the wind blew fierce and sharp. As they passed into the wild cliffs of the mountain, separated from each other by valleys of sand, they came into regions infested with bandits. So they passed onward to the treeless undulation of the Phrygian plain. In places the ground was burnt and volcanic, in others green and cultivated. Among the rare pools storks would fish and feed. Here there was pasture for the flocks and herds; the people dwelt either in primitive flat-roofed villages, or in tents of goats' hair such as Paul himself had woven. As night grew chill, they would gather round a blazing fire; when the moon

was bright it lit up the snow on the heights of the Taurus. The air, indeed, was crisp, but the scene bare. Here on the banks of the little river Anthos, between the two lakes of Limnai, and above a chain of hills, the Shillian Dagh, in a settlement once known as Mygdonian and now as Yalovatch, the House of Seleucus had established a provincial capital, naming it, like the great city on the Orontes, after Antiochus their King.[9]

7

In this Phrygian centre, Paul and Barnabas had the next adventure in their mission of grace. They found here an important and supple colony of Jews who had already attracted a number of the local inhabitants to come to their synagogue and hear of their religion of righteousness, of mercy and of trust. The Hellenised rabbis of this settlement could not but be impressed by these strangers who had come among them, one a Rabbi brilliantly trained by masters in Jerusalem, adding to an expert knowledge of their great literature and its Torah a profound personal conviction. After their customary reading of the Miqra, the local leaders turned to the visiting Rabbi to speak.

At first sight, his appearance hardly inspired enthusiasm. Bald and with a narrow head, the eyebrows meeting above the nose, he was not handsome; he was bow-legged, his figure had no command, but there was in his presence both charm and power. As he spoke, also, his expressive gesture, his burning eyes, his gift of eloquence were associated with that nameless force which is the power of those possessed of the Spirit of Holiness. They change and dominate the atmosphere.

As always, he reassured his hearers by his knowledge of the sacred history of his people. He reminded them of the great promises given to Abraham and to the seed of David. He

proved to them that the Christos they expected was to suffer without a cause. He reminded them of the powerful preaching of the prophet who baptised in the Jordan, who prepared the way for one infinitely greater than himself. And this greater, having appeared, and having been sent innocent to his death, had RISEN AGAIN. . . .

There had been many witnesses of this. And this too had been prophesied: for the Holy One of God was not to see His body corrupt. And from Him, if only men would believe in Him, flowed out a power of healing and forgiveness, which put men right in the eyes of God, as the Torah could not put them.

He finished his speech by quoting a great warning from the prophet Habakkuk:

> "Behold, ye despisers, and wonder and perish,
> For I work a work in your days, a work in which
> you in no way believe,
> Even if anyone should put it clear before you."[10]

His words were not without effect. Many were persuaded to accept the grace of God. The following Sabbath, Paul and Barnabas filled the synagogue to overflowing.

8

But this was a success for which the ruling Jews were unprepared. They were extremely jealous; jealous first at the popularity of the travellers; jealous still more that their own particular prerogative should be offered to mere uncircumcised Phrygians: they made an open attack on the new-comers and all that they had said. These answered them with equal vigour:

"We must needs speak first to you the word of God. But if you reject it, and deem yourselves unworthy of eternal life, we will turn to the other peoples. For so the Lord hath given us the command: 'I have set you up that you should bring healing to the farthest ends of the earth!' "

Those words were from the prophet Isaiah. They rejoiced the simple Phrygians who accepted them as divine; and the great offer spread among the people like fire through dried wood, till they were aflame with the joy of a new hope.

But the Jews, already in touch with the Romans who made the upper classes, craftily worked up these against the new religion, and the missionaries were compelled to flee some five days' march to the East, to the town of Konieh.

Here the same trouble rapidly arose with the Jews. Paul and Barnabas fled therefore round the bare black volcano, the Kara Dagh, which dominates that part of the Anatolian plateau, to two little towns on the northern foothills of the Taurus.

Here, in the humble settlement called Lystra, they healed a lame man. The simple people of the place were awestruck: already initiated into the myths and poetry of Hellas, their imaginations had awakened to prospects of hope and healing. Aware that great powers had come among them, they believed that the fading hierarchy of Olympus had passed over sea and hills to glorify their sequestered lives. The patriarchal Barnabas they took for Zeus himself, the father of gods and men: and Paul, being a prince of eloquence, they hailed as Hermes. The priests of Zeus came forward with calves and garlands and flowers to offer sacrifice to them.

Appalled at the innocent blasphemy, yet deeply touched by the warmth of enthusiasm with which they were received, they spoke of the goodness of God in simple terms which they hoped these simple Phrygians would understand: "We are but men akin to yourselves," they said, "come to give you a blessed

message to turn you from these vain things to the living God, who made the sky and the earth and the sea and all that lives in them; in the generations that have passed, He allowed men to walk in their own ways: and yet He did not leave Himself unevidenced, for He showed goodness and kindness, giving you from heaven rain and fruitful seasons, filling your hearts with food and gladness." Then, as always, Paul's broad sympathy and cultured insight encouraged every tendency towards good: he sought to answer from every quarter the quest for the Divine. So deeply touched were the people at the touching assurance that God had made Himself known to them, and that He loved them, that those who set out their spiritual philosophy could hardly restrain the people offering them sacrifices. Before the people could be prepared to understand the mystery of Christ, however, furious Jews arrived from the towns they had already visited, and worked up the crowd to throw stones at them; Paul, struck by a stone, fell down as dead.

It was plain then that if men would work and live in Christ, they must pay the price of Christ for the heavenly treasure: and "through many tribulations enter into the kingdom of God". Nevertheless, Paul persevered on his high embassy. A document has come down from the second century connecting this mission of Paul with two enthusiastic converts; the name of one was Onesiphoros, of the other Thecla: and the legend tells of miracles. But what is more important to know is that Paul and Barnabas worshipped, they fasted, they built up their Church, they ordained "ancients" or priests to act with authority: and so the time passed till they retraced their steps through the valleys of Taurus, came to the coast, took ship, sailed past the blue Cilician hills back to Seleucia: and so to Antioch from which they had been sent forward with their high romance.

Nor had they been disappointed. Amid the hazards of the

Taurus, amid the dangers of unbridged rivers, amid assaults by stone and stick, amid insults and abuse, through bruises and blood, amid sickness and hardship, amid the waves and the storms, they had maintained their courage. They had shown not merely to the scattered Jews, not merely to the ignorant and poor, but to those touched by the beauties of the Hellenic mind, to those exercising the august beneficence of Rome, how much these were all loved by the Father of them all. The Divine Sovereign had chosen them to be the heirs of His riches and His court.[11]

Who would not be Romans in such a Rome—or Jews in this Jerusalem?

9

Eyes fascinated by these sweeping and comprehensive views had once more to contract their gaze, however, to the sharp, small blade used for the rite of circumcision. The alternation of the widest sweep of thought with the loftiest mystical experiences, with the pushing bigotry of fools, with the hard suffering of daily life, and with the sharp claims of common sense in the world of common things and common men: this is but one of the things that make it hard to be a Christian.

IX

FAITH AND THE LAW

1

WHEN PAUL RETURNED TO ANTIOCH FROM HIS JOURNEY IN Pisidia, however, he found that the question of the full rights of the Church being given to converts who were not yet initiated by the Jewish operation aroused the most furious distrust among the believers of the chosen race. They had accepted the new way as a perfecting and fulfilment of the Torah, but the Torah must still be applied to and accepted by all: it was the foundation. So strong was this feeling that it looked insuperable.

Nevertheless, the inclemency of nature provided the fertile mind of Paul with a way out. A Jew among Jews, he learnt that the believers in Jerusalem were short not only of money but of food.

Realising then that the famine showed them not only a duty but an opportunity, the two leaders of the Church in the wealthy valley of the Orontes decided themselves to travel to Judaea's barren hills; they took with them an uncircumcised Greek called Titus, whom they had converted in their missionary journeys: and they did not arrive with empty hands.

The case of Paul certainly needed support. He had been received on sufferance eleven years before as a persecutor: and now he had to plead a difficult case: that of receiving the uncircumcised into the Church. He thought he would less scandalize the Jews if he put his case confidentially only to those most competent to judge, Cephas, with James and John.

Cephas, long since convinced that his great message was for

all the world, yielded to the impassioned arguments of the two men whom he had already befriended: Paul and Barnabas might go to the Gentiles, as Cephas and the others to the Circumcision: and they "should be mindful of the poor."[1]

What would be more natural than that Cephas, knowing that the famine was not affecting Antioch, should go back with them to this city of plenty—that, being there, he should mingle with the Gentiles and eat with them? Afterwards, however, when certain exclusive Parushim, acting on their own initiative, arrived from Jerusalem, and accused him of eating with the uncircumcised, he decided not to scandalize them.

2

For centuries men have read into the account that follows an account of a direct quarrel. They take it that Paul had affronted Cephas to the face when the man of Rock, in an access of weakness, had failed to maintain his settled policy of accepting the outside peoples into the Church and was refusing to sit at table with them.

It may be so: to Westerners the explanation seems obvious: but those who, having worked in the East, know the diplomacy which is second nature to the oriental mind prefer the little drama described by St. Chrysostom. According to him, Cephas was nervous about scandalizing the Jews freshly arriving from Jerusalem, and blaming him: *he therefore pretended to give way to them,* as did also the other Jews in Antioch! he pretended to be unwilling to eat with the Syrian Christians. Barnabas, too, says the account, was carried away by this dissimulation, this play-acting, this pretence. But now Paul brings it out into the open. The question demanded by the situation was: "Why are you, a Christian, living with the old rules of a

Jew?" When, before all, Paul confronts Cephas, the question he does ask is quite another: "When you, yourself a Jew, live as a non-Jew, why do you compel the non-Jews to live as the Jews?"

Now as St. Chrysostom points out, Cephas was not compelling the non-Jews to act as Jews, nor did he wish to do so: but Paul by his question had shown up the real attitude of Cephas. The question whether Cephas himself was to keep the strict rules of a Jew, Paul diplomatically takes for granted; he so shows what Cephas really felt; thus they both gained their point. Paul then went on with his argument that it is by faith and trust in Christ, and not in carrying out the enactments of the Torah, that men are set right in the eyes of God.[2]

Such is the oriental explanation: and thoroughly Jewish would such a drama be. It was the explanation not only of Chrysostom, but of Jerome, and, Jerome says, of Origen before him. But it shocked St. Augustine, and his explanation of the impetuousness and weakness of Cephas has gained currency among controversialists who contest the dignity of Cephas —but not only among those.

Whatever the truth of this negotiation, it is certain that the ultra-Jewish faction among the Churches was making things difficult for the others: and this too was to be repeated for years in every centre of the Church.

The Jewish Colonies were closely bound together and the trouble at Antioch appears at once to have spread further. Paul now heard that his own Jewish converts in Pisidia and Lycaonia, which he knew to be incorporated in the Roman province of Galatia, had fallen victims to the same propaganda as the troublesome Parushim had been making in Antioch. These Jews not only insisted for themselves, but they demanded also from the Gentiles, a full observance of their Torah—including circumcision. They were impugning the rights of Paul and

Barnabas to allow them freedom. They were, in fact, undermining his teaching about the faith.

3

His mind surging with his recent argument, Paul at this point turned to the Galatians with all the excitement he felt about the Jews. "Senseless Galatians!" he cried, "who has laid you under a spell?" He must make the whole thing clear, beginning with his own story on the Orontes, and it would govern the argument he must perforce employ against the Judaizers.[3]

His was no human choice: he had received the truth not from men but by revelation from the Christ Himself. He recapitulated his experiences—his conversion: his delay of three years of solitude in the desert before he went back to Jerusalem. Even when he went thither, he went to meet Cephas, and the only other of the twelve was James. The notion that he had taken his ideas from the twelve as a whole was absurd: he swore that he had done nothing of the sort. And then eleven years had gone by before he went to Jerusalem again, to deal with false and interfering Jews who were again slipping in as spies to disturb the freedom of his converts. His references to the famine were discreet: he only mentioned that he was asked to make a contribution: but he could boast that he had won his case.

4

Then he relates the drama in Antioch. It was much, it was a sacred privilege to be a member of the Chosen Race, and live

according to the Mosaic Law. But had he not come to the Galatian region with better news than that? He had argued, had he not? that the secret of life, the vindication of the soul, was not to act according to the Mosaic code, but to believe in the Christ. He plunged into his great mystery of redemption. "By the Jewish Law", he cried, "I am dead to the Jewish Law that I might live to God."[4]

What could that mean? It meant that he was one with Christ, that Christ—seeing how the Jewish code meant an effort and a system of sacrifice that could not give man a wholly free life in God—had died to show what a life-giving sacrifice was: and that as He poured out His blood on the ground, so in the mysteries of grace He poured His life into men's souls till they were one with Him. "I have been crucified with Christ," said Paul, "and if I live it is no more I who live; Christ lives in me."[5]

The only way to live the life of perfectness, and to walk the way of lasting health of the soul, which meant eternal life, was to accept within oneself by the trust and assurance of faith that outpouring of Divine life which is the blood of Christ.

5

Then what was the relation of the Jewish Law—the Torah —to the life of faith? Did not the Jews trace the fount of their blessings beyond Moses—to Abraham? Was it not he to whom had come the words: "And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed"? But why had Abraham received the promise of blessing? Because he had faith, and this faith was counted to him as righteousness.

"*The man who lives aright will live by faith.*" That phrase of the prophet Habakkuk stated the profound principle, and

only on the foundation of faith and trust could one work out the enactments of the Torah into a vital principle: "he that doeth them", said Leviticus, "shall *live* in them."

But, said Deuteronomy, the Torah brought with it a frightful sanction—a curse: "Cursed is he who is not constant in carrying out all that is written in the book of the Torah". And since no one could perform it all, a Jew's conscience was in peril of a curse; even the most scrupulous Jews were troubled. They strove with constant effort, as Paul himself had done; but what was the result? They were never free from the fear of this curse: this curse which in the crucifixion had fallen upon Christ. But if only they would trust in Him. To Him the promise was made, Him the Torah pre-figured, He had redeemed men from the curse implied by the Torah. The Torah had served as an exalted rule of right living till from the descendant of Abraham should come that promised mediator ordained by angels. As a slave, being something between a nurse and a tutor, led boys to school, so the "Law"—partly nurse, partly tutor, partly slave—had led them to Christ: but after faith had come, men no longer needed anyone to lead them to school:—"*You are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus: for all of you who have been baptised into Christ have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Hellene, there is neither slave nor freeman, there is neither a stronger sex nor a weaker: for you are all one in Christ Jesus.*" The promise made to Abraham is fulfilled in you because of faith in the Christ and baptism into the Christ; these fulfil in one another the gifts of grace. "You are in Him. He has adopted you into Himself. You are His heirs: His sons; because He has sent into your hearts the Spirit of His Son that you might call Him Father."[6]

6

How, when his converts in Phrygia had enjoyed this glowing privilege of freedom, could they turn back to notions so elementary, so rudimentary, as the observance of times for ritual acts? Did not Abraham of old have two families, one of slaves, one of freemen? Hagar, the slave mother, was like the Sinai which had given the "Law" for the Jews: but the promise given to those that believe was no barren mountain of the desert: it was that heavenly city, that spiritual Jerusalem which is the mother of us all.

It was all very well then for Jews to think of circumcision as an initiation into the complexities of the "Law": but it is by faith through the Holy Spirit that we await the hope of right living which vindicates us in every place of judgment. For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision in any way avails, nor uncircumcision—but faith working through love, faith that makes a new creation: "as many", Paul concluded, "as walk in a straight line according to this canon, peace be upon them and mercy, and upon the Israel of God".[7]

7

Paul had worked out the principle of his thought: he had shown where he placed the "Law" and, indeed, the whole Jewish race which practised it—as a preparation for the coming of Christ: Christ who came to receive into Himself all men who having trusted in Him, all who believing in Him, would be baptised into Him.[8] And what was this life of faith? To answer that, Paul mentioned two opposing principles in men: one, human nature and its weaknesses; the other, the Holy Spirit and His graces.

"The supreme end for every human creature was to be linked to the Life Divine."[9] "The Son of God has come among men, and was made man that He might carry out this design. He desires that by adoption we should be brought to share in His privileges as the Son of God."[10] This is the plan which Paul had disclosed. "Walk by the Spirit", he pleads therefore, "and you will not fulfil the lust of the flesh. For the flesh lusts against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh: for these are contrary to one another so that you may not do the things you desire. Now the works of the flesh are plain and recognisable: fornication, impurity, furies of evil desire, idolatry, sorcery, quarrels, strifes, jealousies, divisions, heresies, envyings, drunkenness, carousals and things like those: about those again I tell you plainly, as I did tell you plainly already, that those which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God. But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, magnanimity, kindliness, goodness, fidelity, gentleness, self-control; against these the Law can say nothing.

"If we live by the Spirit, by the Spirit let us also walk."[11]

Such was the teaching which the most powerful writer of his age wrote to those whom he had brought to share his new conception of life, and it was worked out in a profound inward change in which all his nature, desires and impulses had been sacrificed to the mystery of life in the Christ. "Far be it from me that I should vaunt myself, unless in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ by whom the world is crucified for me, and I unto the world."[12] All the things of the world had been sacrificed, all his inclinations towards them mortified, that he might live a new selfless life, the life poured out by Christ through His blood that He might live in men's hearts by faith.

§

Such is the tenor of this first formal pronouncement of the man of genius who was to prove himself the most absorbing and influential writer of the age. His style was moulded to some extent by the Septuagint, and echoes it: but it had a tone wholly new: conversational, confidential, and, when arguing, incisive. For, when it came to arguing to press a point home, his pen had all the ease of a quick and trained talker:—"There is just one thing I want to learn from you. Was it by the works of the Law you received the Spirit, or by the hearing of faith? Are you so brainless as this? having begun with the Spirit, were you finishing with the flesh? Have you had such great experiences for nothing?"[13] Here is the debater or the disciplinarian: but also he had to relate the Jewish religion to other mysteries.

Paul's tone was that of a man who poured out his whole heart in the absorbing subject of his interest: a man so eager and full of his subject that he did not stay either to polish his expression or to work out his thought to the clear sequence of logic. His tone was impetuous: it was peculiarly frank: on the one side, his style was vigorous: on the other, he was so much alive to every nuance of the situation that the flow was interrupted by the inrush of one gushing tributary after another. In this vast mystery of redemption there were so many things to keep in mind. The claims of the Jews, the claims of the other nations, the personal revelation, the intercourse with the apostles of Jesus, then the relation of the "Law" to faith, and, through the grace which included faith, his own incorporation into the very Lord he worshipped—here was a wealth of subjects which, with all his desire to argue and prove his case, led to subtleties so profound and thoughts so rich that however impetuous, however incisive he might naturally be, he was overborne by their complexity.

9

The electricity of thoughts came pouring on his mind like flashes of lightning over a canopy of stars: what he had seen in the twinkling light was now flooded with sudden flashes, each showing a glory, each too absorbing for him to relate to another. "By the Law I am dead to the Law that I might live to God. I have been crucified with Christ, and if I live it is no more I who live but Christ who lives in me. What I live now in the flesh, I live in the faith of the Son of God who has loved me and given Himself up for me. I do not put aside the grace of God, for if the good life could be attained through the Law, then Christ has died for nothing."[14]

"The Epistle to the Galatians", writes a French scholar who lived long in Jerusalem, "is not only a document beyond price for the history of the origin of the Church. It is not only a Charter of freedom in relation to the Jewish law. It is the expression torn from Paul by a deep religious conviction and by the tenderness and torments of his heart. His sight had been cleared; on humanity in its different aspects and stages, on the Old Testament, on Christ Himself and on His never-ceasing operation on the souls of men, he now projects something of the light which had streamed in on his own soul. And this epistle, which establishes his rights among the Apostles is also that which shows the feelings of a spiritual Father for his sons in Jesus Christ."[15] In it, now as always, advanced souls have found the power to strengthen and sustain them.

X

FROM THE TAURUS TO THE TROAD

1

THE DISPUTES IN ANTIOCH, THE DANGERS IN PHRYGIA, THE general insistence of the Parushim on all the points on which they had always insisted made Paul and Barnabas wonder whether they should not go back to Jerusalem once more. It was more tactful not to mention Cephas or any other of those who had come down to Antioch. It was better therefore to state that the turmoil had been fierce, the strife acute. Before they had gone with the strong persuasiveness behind them of provisions for famished people: this time they could claim in addition to that debt of obligation the addition of many converts—and converts are potential contributors. For this mission Paul may have also prepared a learned and persuasive argument such as was afterwards used in his Epistle to the Romans.

Paul and Barnabas went down the coast from Seleucia, passing Beyrout, Tyre, Sidon to Acre, and then upwards through Samaria; they were able to proclaim the success of their evangel everywhere as they passed; this thought of men living in the Christ caused deep joy. At Jerusalem they were received with honour; the Apostles, the ancients and priests, and the mass of believers heard what a wonderful number of people had been attracted to the new religion. There was a feeling of exhilaration and triumph in the community: but still the Parushim insisted on their two questions: Did you circumcise them? Are they keeping the Torah of Moses?[1]

2

At this point there was a feeling that all the chief authorities should hold a council and decide.

The Israelite rigorists pressed their case with characteristic confidence and vigour. They were answered with no less characteristic impetuousness by the Parush they had so often observed as Shaul: but present also was the impulsive and generous figure who had so often taken the lead, who had been the first to recognise the true uniqueness of his Master, who enjoyed a prestige that made the first recorders of the inception of the new religion always put his name first on the list of Apostles, who had received from his Master the assurance—through that prayer which was an omnipotent decision—that his faith should fail not and that, when he was confirmed in it, he should strengthen the rest: he now stood up in the debate and gave a decision.[2]

It was wholly on the side of Paul. He declared that the Holy Ghost had been given to others just as to the Jews.—"Purifying their hearts by faith, He put no distinction between us and them. Why do you press God that He should put on the neck of these learners a yoke that neither our fathers nor we were able to bear? But we believe we shall be saved just as they are, through the grace of the Lord Jesus."[3]

Both in his speech and in the man who made it there was an authority which stilled further dispute. Paul and Barnabas told their great story: a story not merely of conversions but of signs and wonders. Then the other great figure of the Twelve who had been with Jesus spoke to tell of his assent to all that Cephas and Paul had argued. He abrogated the crucial test of circumcision.

3

He did ask them, however, in their eating not to outrage those Jewish rules which were as much a matter of health and of taste as of tradition, and of significance. They must not eat meat already offered to idols: they must not eat the flesh of animals which had been strangled, nor take their blood. And as they must maintain these decent rules in eating, so must they maintain the rules of chastity which are so often outraged in the purlieus of the temple. Decency of self-restraint, decencies in the eating of meat, and a definite dissociation from the crude rites of idolatry, with all that they implied, surely this was not too much to ask?[4]

4

A letter in this tenor was taken back to Antioch. The great principle was authoritatively settled. The Community had already grown into a Church, a separate community from the Jews, a community centred on Christ, a way of holy men to live in Christ. And the Romans recognising them gave them their name from Him in whom they believed. The Way of the Pupils (or Initiates) became the Church of Christians.[5]

5

Paul had now before him new and finer adventures in his lofty cause. As soon as the Church at Antioch enjoyed the advancement he desired, he thought of setting out with his old friend to revisit the communities he had founded in Cyprus and Lycaonia; his journey was to carry him farther than he dreamed.

Knowing that the journey was to be hazardous and its demands severe, he was therefore taken aback when Barnabas told him that as for himself he would not think of starting out without his nephew Marcus. What? The youth who having put his hand to the plough looked back at Perga, and proved himself unfit for the Kingdom of God? Was it fear, or was it family affection? Marcus was in either case branded in the eyes of Paul as one of those who prefer human ties to their loyalty to the King of Heaven.

To Paul every human cord had long since been burned in the flames of his love for the Christ. He had been crucified to the dearest things in human life: he had formed countless intimacies with souls. For all he had given up, therefore, he had received in this life a hundred-fold. Between Barnabas and himself the issue was no small one, and each clung to his contention.

To Barnabas, patriarchal, paternal, mild, the company of a relation he trusted was all important. The friend whose cause he had espoused twelve years before at Jerusalem was impetuous, uncompromising, exhausting; the man dreaded then for his persecutions retained still some ruthless quality of disposition. Long years together had shown Barnabas the strain of living with so supernatural a genius. To suit himself to this companion without the service and support of his young relative was more than he could face. There was, says the chronicler, an outbreak, a "paroxysm". It was the final cleavage between two men who had come to live on different scales. Barnabas took Marcus and sailed away—out of history—to Cyprus, to that delightful island which was his home; Paul chose for companion another, a cultured Roman citizen like himself, a man of courage to share his heart and his travels, "a man of marked personality and recognised position", both in the

Church and the Empire. The name of this new companion was Silvanus.[6]

6

It was spring weather and the journey before them led them first upwards about 2,000 feet to the Syrian Gates, which travellers crossed from the Orontes Valley to the road around the picturesque gulf of Iskanderun. It is still a road with hair-pin bends that unnerve travellers in motor cars. Around them were bare hills and the wooded valleys, the myrtle and the pine, made more charming by vineyards and orchards; distant below them lay the tideless, satin sea; above them the snowy line, sublime among the clouds in their glows of dawn and evening. They passed Issos where Alexander the Great had fought his great fight. They came down to the flat plains and on to Messis, then Mopsuestia, and Adana and so to that region of Cilicia which Paul knew so well. Yet it was not of climate, of scenery, nor of old associations that he thought; his mind was absorbed in men, who lived—in faith and hope and love—the life of grace which filled him with joy and peace in the Christ. All were one in that new society which was not only human but divine: all divisions were done away; neither circumcision availed nor uncircumcision, but a new creation: and to as many as walked in a straight line according to this Canon, "peace be upon them and mercy and upon the Israel of God".

Such was the message which the fervid preacher carried, while the sun strengthened and the mosquitoes bred, through the plains which the Taurus sheltered from the northern breeze.

His cavalcade of mules or of camels, the nightly shelter in the khans, the group gathering round the fires, the sudden storms, the return of sunlight, these passed over or by him,

unrecorded; all that he remembered was those things which bore upon his mission. Everywhere alike he found his communities built up on welcome for the mercies of heaven and on praise. Day by day, hour by hour, he in solitude adored; then with his converts he sympathised, he encouraged, he explained. Hour by hour, he dispensed the mysteries of the Christ.

As the traveller's journey had passed from the defile to the sunny meadows and the cornfields, so all these little communities had moved from rock and desolation to green pastures beside a refreshing stream.

From Tarsus there was more than one track over the Taurus to Lycaonia. But we cannot doubt that Paul and Silvanus chose that which Cyrus, Alexander, Cicero had travelled before them into the heights and cliffs of the pass known as the Cilician Gates. The road was at times so narrow that only one camel could pass at a time. Then again came the risk of bandits: but Paul and his friend travelled the long leagues past the hills and valleys of the Northern Taurus, and then on to Podanos, Kybistra, Kastabala—where the Turkish train now runs—to Karaman, then called Laranda. From there they had an easier journey to Derbe and Lystra, with the wild heights of the Taurus still stretching out of sight on the left hand and in front once more the dark bare mass of the Kara Dagh.[7]

7

Here he met the friends of his earlier visit. Here he took to himself a new companion. A devout Jewess, named Lois, had married her daughter Eunice to a Greek in Lystra: the pair had a gifted son whom they named Timotheos.[8] Trained in the Septuagint, he was drawn to travel with Paul, taking the

blessed message. Silvanus agreed that Timotheos was meant to join them. The enthusiastic youth declared his faith; and the local ancients with Paul laid their hands on him. Lest any Jew should cavil, he generously underwent the painful rite of circumcision, which the Council had wisely abrogated.[9]

This youth was to Paul the most charming and faithful companion. Timid at times and delicate, yet he worked with the fidelity and affection of a son. From the first he followed and sought to copy his great leader: his warm and sensitive temperament might at times have led him astray; but Paul could call him at the last his son faithful and loved, and say that he sought the things of Christ.[10]

8

Thus the three travelers went on and on with their work and their evangel. They passed out of the bare uplands and came to those delightful lands of mountain and valley which lead for hundreds of miles down to the coasts of the Aegean Sea. What route they took none can determine. They may have reached Chonas on the river Lycus, and then turned back:[11] they felt they must not preach in the Roman Province of Asia:[12] passing through Phrygia and the Galatian region, they journeyed towards Bithynia: but there the inspired intuition, which guided their counsels, took them from the Bithynian Olympus, from the Lake of Nicaea, from the shores of the Sea of Marmora. An imposing body of scholarship holds that it was now Paul first met and converted those whom he addressed as Galatians: the contention cannot be ignored; nor can we ignore the fact either that though the chronicler met Paul soon afterwards, he said nothing of it, or that the researches of Sir William Ramsay have provided another and better conclusion.

We do not know what the travellers said nor what course they took. Perhaps they went down the valley of the river Rhyndacos,[13] but finally they traversed the fabled plain of Troy, perhaps along the great road through Smyrna, or more directly through Thyatira, and Pergamos to Edremid, then known as Adramyttium.

An instinct of haste pressed them on through days growing always hotter. As they travelled their observation suggested to them that they were leaving Syria and the East: the new scene was already like that of Europe, or at least like Greece or Southern Italy.[14]

For the approach to the Troad had led them through country which, after the high tablelands of Lycaonia, was singularly refreshing. Not only was food easy to find—and milk—but from countless springs there sparkled a thousand rills of foam and diamonds. At point after point, the horizon was closed in by the varied and striking outline of the ranges, one behind another, sharp sometimes as the teeth of a saw, with here and there a cone or cliff which displayed the stone formation with the marble beauty of a giant statue. From the stretching mountains came the cool delicious water which fed the valleys and nourished the plane trees and the avenues of poplars. The march was tiring often: but each resting-place a Paradise: a draught of this pure water, and a morsel of bread; with here and there, perhaps, honey, or a new-laid egg, made travelling a very different story from the thirst, the hunger, the cold winds which the pilgrims had endured through the weeks before.

9

At last the scene was dominated by a new and separate mountain. This was the famous Ida, on the flanks of which, as

the poets told, Zeus had embraced the Queen of Heaven, Oenone had loved Paris, and Paris had given to Aphrodite the prize of beauty.[15] Famous too were the streams, Scamander and rocky Simois, sauntering towards the sea, which now the travellers crossed. Above them over the plain was the city of Troy from which, as Virgil had so finely told, Aeneas had set out to plant the seed of history in Ausonian land. But all this country's charm of nature, of legend and of living poetry was of little or no concern to a man whose inward eye had gazed on more brilliant prospects. In the Lord he had been given his heart's desire; in darkness, in weariness, in hunger, in thirst, in cold, in nakedness and in danger, he could recall such marvels as neither ear had heard nor eye had seen nor had entered into the heart of man to conceive; these in his visions and revelations, through ways he dared not tell, he knew to be his own, since God had laid them up for them that love Him.

XI

ON TOWARDS OLYMPUS

1

WHILE STAYING IN THE BUSY PORT OF ALEXANDRIA TROAS, THE party of three, Paul, Silvanus and Timotheos, was joined by another. The fourth was a physician or healer. He had had a thorough training in writing Greek: he was absorbed in the whole Christian story, he—as almost all will admit—was the chronicler of the journeys of St. Paul. His name was Lucanus or Lucilius.[1] Though others say he was a Macedonian, Eusebius says he came from Antioch.[2] He may well have been the brother of Titus. He may have been converted already: or he may have been brought to persecute Paul and then won over to his Way.

He was also a traveller who had learnt a good deal about sailing: it was said that he could draw and paint. But that he was a skilful compiler with a sound judgment, a delicate taste and a fine gift of style, this no scholar will deny. He was to be in fact one of the most memorable, perhaps one of the most inspired writers of an epoch-making company. That he at once proved a sympathetic and agreeable young man, we cannot doubt, nor that he had already been in Macedonia.

When Paul and his party reached Troas, they found the harbour full of ships. He was to sail over the seas in one of them, but whither? In this uncertainty, his doubts were resolved in a dream. In the suspension of active consciousness, his mind lay open to the unseen world: and as he slept, he met with one, it may have been Lucanus himself, who called, "Come over into Macedonia and help us".[3]

A ship was sailing northward. It was full summer weather, and the breeze blew freshly from the South, till at the mouth of the Dardanelles, having passed Ceos and Tenedos, they found themselves under the mountainous island of Samothrace: on the northern side of this island they could shelter from the wind till their sails were set for the Island of Thasos and the gulf it also sheltered. Facing it on the mainland is the port of Kavalla (then called Neapolis) and here the travellers landed. At a port now busy with the export of Turkish tobacco for cigarettes, the Apostle of Christ first brought to Europe the truth and powers of the new mystery.

2

That shore of Macedonia was not at first sight markedly different from the lands of mountain and sea on which Paul had seen a warm sun shine for the preceding forty years of his life. The colours were high, the light intense, the sea sparkling, the mountains wild and lofty as they rose into the intense blue. Thasos closed his view into the Aegean: bare hills rose above the harbour to the East. To the north-west the hills culminated in the lofty triangle of Pangaios, while against the southern sky stood out at the extremity of the coast the Matterhorn of Macedonia, the lofty peak of Athos.

The people, neither in themselves nor in their customs, nor in their language were vastly different from those Hellenists whom he had known always: and still among their settlements were colonies of Jews.

Taking the great Roman Road, known as the Via Egnatia, which already connected Durazzo with the Dardanelles, they had arrived after three or four hours' journey at a settlement colonised by the Romans, on the border of a stream called the

Angites. In this town a triumphal arch commemorated the victory of Augustus over Brutus and Cassius. As a Roman colony, it was a centre of the imperial administration with which Paul had had such happy relations at Baffa.[4] Its name was Philippi.

3

Here he met a striking woman, who had enriched herself in the dyeing trade. Coming over from Thyatira, and taking the name of its province, Lydia, she had inherited or developed a business which appealed to the tastes of the wealthy. It was to extract from the murex, a shell fish of the coast, the tincture favoured as the Roman purple. The province of Lydia in Asia Minor was the province of luxury, of wealth, of Croesus himself. She had no doubt developed a special knowledge of the shades, violet, heliotrope or mauve, which would make silks or wools look most attractive or most splendid.[5] This able woman was a power among the Jews, and admiring the unique gifts of St. Paul, she soon pressed him and his company to share the comforts of her house.

He had first found the worshippers with some Jewish women at the river bank after he had passed the fine triumphal arch. Such a rest in the summer weather, after the long fatigues of the journey, was most welcome: and in this atmosphere, he met men of loftier ideas of worship than other pagans he had known; the culture, the order and the charm of Italy gave their mark to the colony; he formed here, therefore, a company of prosperous and generous converts, who were always ready to come to his assistance, and who in later years filled his mind with thankfulness and joy. Here he found them living in the order of a Roman colony in a Roman province on a great Roman road. He could savour once more that Italian

amenity which had attracted him a year or two before in Sergius Paulus at Baffa.

But this did not mean that the sojourn in Philippi was free from the violence and the drama which had always marked his travels.

4

For the competent Lydia was not the only woman the missionaries noticed at Philippi. There was also a young woman who, suffering from a nervous disease, or obsession, uttered strange noises and cries. Some enterprising sharpers had exploited her as a sort of prophetess. Now it often happens that a person mentally deficient or deranged still has an intuitive sense of good and evil in personalities: in Paul, this poor girl felt the presence of great powers of good. It was just such cases as hers which the followers of Christ were specially apt to treat. They exorcised the spirit troubling her: they cured her nervous malady: by this, however, her masters were deprived of a source of income. They were then, naturally enough, furious. They could not bring before the courts of Rome the story of what had been done: they could nevertheless plot and plan a revenge. So they decided to accuse the new-comers of agitating the city, and spreading doctrines that were disturbing to Roman citizens. The idea of an outrage on the veneration of the Emperor by wandering Jews provoked so much uproar that before any case had been heard, the lictors had seized Paul and Silvanus, torn their clothes off and thrashed them with their rods, a bundle of which, the fasces, they always carried with them. They then thrust their victims into their gaol, of which the inner part seems to have been a cave hewn out of the rock;[6] here the gaolers made their prisoners' feet fast in the stocks.

At this new tribulation Paul was consoled by one of those accesses of exaltation which he had so often enjoyed: at midnight he, with Silvanus, hymned the Resurrection: and, as he did so, an earthquake broke open the dungeon doors and freed them from the stocks.[7] The gaoler, terrified at the earthquake, was yet more horrified to find the dungeon doors open. In this mood of terror, he heard from the prisoners that they were Roman citizens. To fetter a Roman citizen was crime enough: to flog him, and without a trial—this was a shameful outrage.[8] Whatever gods there were had plainly taken vengeance.

Conscience-stricken, the gaolers realised that their prisoners had behind them the powers of truth and life. How could these be propitiated? How could the men be saved? Paul answered them with the name of Jesus. Let them put their whole trust and confidence in Him. He explained to them the mysteries of the Way, the Secret of the Church. The gaoler understood: he believed: he took Paul with him, and washed his weals and bruises. And then, in that water in which in faith men were born again, they were received into the Church.

What had won over the gaolers had impressed the duumviri. Better let these men go. But "No," said Paul, seeing his opportunity, "we have the power to threaten now. You have fettered, you have scourged Roman citizens. You are yourselves offenders against the majesty of the Law." Such was the message with which he charged the lictors. The Romans understood, and begged them to depart. Stiff, bruised, but triumphant, the three once more set out upon their journey, leaving Lucanus behind.[9]

5

Though in the full heat of summer, travelling was hardly less delightful than it had been on the other side of the Aegean.

ATHENS—LOOKING THROUGH THE COLUMNS OF THE PARTHENON TOWARD LYCABETTOS

The same springs of sparkling water, the same road paved with marble, the same villages, the same background of mountain and hill marked the scene of their progress along a smiling valley, over a verdant plain. So wiry was Paul's constitution that he was already recovering from his torment and his wounds.

They came first to Amphipolis on the river Strymon at the base of high Pangaios. From here their path led them close to the shore from which they could again see Mount Athos and later Thasos across the glittering waves. They crossed the stream which led to the wooded shores at Stavros. Then they passed through the Aulon of Arethusa near which is the grave of Euripides. About them fluttered storks, and bee-eaters; pale green "rollers" were swaying in the air. On the ground were tortoises and scorpions. Most numerous of all was a large copper-coloured grasshopper, the size of a mouse, which as they drew near discharged in fright a canary-yellow liquid.[10] The cool air, the flowing stream, the growth of shrubs and stalks had been gay as an Alpine valley, but they were placed at the edge of a furnace.

For the next stopping-place, Apollonia, is in the centre of a stretch of flat ground between Lake Beshik and the Hortiach range; in the month of June this stretch will burn with torrid heat. From the exhausting sun, the flocks of sheep, and the herds of oxen sheltered beneath the trees, while the ducks sought shelter among the reeds at the edge of the lake. All slept but the buzzing insects or a few noisy birds. The travellers took their rest in the heat of the day: but before long they were rising once more over the hills, and after passing the peak of Hortiach they saw a view more superb, more significant than any they had yet seen. At the head of a long inlet a noble town was built on the edge of still water which mirrored many masts. Beyond it, over the water, rose through the mists a lofty out-

line which they would have thought itself a cloud but that its form was fixed, while its colour changed from rose through every shade of pearl to dazzling white.

That was the mountain on which the soaring surmise of Hellenic imagination had placed the court of Zeus and all his hierarchy: it was Olympus: to the left of it stretched Pelion and Ossa: the city—which faced this earthly counterpart of heaven in a place where navigation had long meant, and still means, wealth and what that brings of monuments and beauty —was Salonika.

Here the Jews had already built their synagogue. It was these to whom Paul was before long to address his exordium to a new literature for Hellas, to whom he was to tell a story which would guide them, as common men, to a far higher heaven than that which the great Homeric epic had pictured as the privilege of those Olympians whom Cicero declared already to have vanished when he came along the Egnatian Road from Durazzo some hundred years before.

6

Travelling here for refuge during his exile Cicero referred to the citizens of Salonika as "placed in the lap of the Empire".[11] Strabo and Lucian had noticed it as the most flourishing city of Macedonia.[12] Gibbon tells us that it was afterwards thought of as the capital of the whole Roman world.[13] Yet it had never been so Romanised as Philippi: it remained a Greek city, ruled by its own Greek politarchs. In view of its place on the great Roman road to the Bosphorus, its large colony of Jews, above all its close relation to Hellas, and not least its superb views and situation, it was to the Jewish traveller the entrance into European civilisation.[14] From that moment

he had to prepare to place his message before the thinkers of Athens and of Rome.

Yet he began as usual with the synagogue, and while waiting to do so, he set to work as a craftsman to earn his living.[15] When he spoke, he again based his case on the Septuagint and its promise of a Christos. He showed how there were words pointing to a Man of Sorrows, and to One who should rise again. He told them how he had himself, in the intense reality of inward vision, seen this Risen Man. Those who had seen Him die and rise again Paul had himself known; now the power of His Spirit was with those that believed—to give them in holiness and in everlasting life the fulfilment of every mercy.

The beauty and persuasiveness of his teaching convinced many, not only of the Jews, but of the wealthier women, and of the Greeks who, in their search for a religion purer and more vital than was offered by their poets or their philosophers had been turning, and not in vain, towards the Septuagint.

But Paul was in danger, and he knew it. Thrashed at Philippi,[16] he might here be thrashed again. Conventional bigotry and racial vanity combined to exacerbate the unconvinced Jews. With their usual subtlety they laid their plans. It was to induce the crowd of ne'er-do-wells, gathered in the market-place, to make a riot in the streets. Singing, shouting, this horde of riff-raff was led to the house where Paul, Timotheos and Silvanus had their lodging: as they could not be found, their host was seized and dragged before the politarchs. He was accused of harbouring revolutionaries, men who having disturbed other parts of the Roman Empire had now arrived in Salonika, to impugn the authority of the Emperor, and to set up as rival sovereign their Jesus.[17]

Now it was just at that time that in Rome itself the Jews had been expelled by the Emperor Claudius, for making

tumult and strife in the city, at the instigation, as Suetonius records it, of Chrestus;[18] this sounded very like the Christos about whom Paul was speaking. The rumour of any revolution against the power of the Emperor was highly disturbing both to the politarchs and to the Greek populace they represented. A pledge was extracted from their host not to keep Paul and his friends in Salonika. Secretly and at night Paul (still with Silvanus and Timotheos) was led out of it across the Vardar valley to make his way some forty miles across the plain to Verria, then called Beroea: on this plain they saw herds of oxen, flocks of sheep, and ducks among its pools and marshes.[19]

Verria is a little town fronting Olympus at a height of 600 feet from the north side of the Haliakmon valley: a town noisy with watercourses from the fresh springs above it, pouring down to nourish the pomegranate, the fig and the vine. Here there were also Jews, but Jews of a higher class than those in Salonika. These, and Greek men and women of some position, Paul again succeeded in persuading. Here his most enthusiastic adherent was named Sosipatros. How did he put forth a teaching to appeal both to Jews and to educated Greeks?

7

The Greeks, still mingling the Stoic philosophy with crude anthropomorphic conceptions associated with their sculpture, might indeed have listened with interest to what the Jews could tell them of the mercy of the one true Lord of Life: both they and the Jews were disturbed by the fear of death, and by fear of the wrathful judgment of heaven. They spoke of Nemesis and the Eumenides. A sense of doom and vengeance had made them full of fear. Paul placed before both Jew and Greek a conception infinitely nobler than this grim obeisance before the

justice and wrath of the divine powers. He taught them that God was their Father: that He had called them to His own kingdom and glory. Paul spoke with mingled gentleness and sympathy, a swift and radiant affection.[20] He promised them that cure of the soul which would give them power and glory at once and for ever: he freed them from the fear of death.[21] Jesus had not departed from them. He had said: "I am with you always even to the consummation of the age", and who knew when He would come in glory in the clouds of heaven, taking to Himself those who were awaiting Him, raising the bodies of those who had died with Him. All would be caught up to meet Him.

This was the exciting promise, partly mystical, partly allegorical, partly imaginative, which he set forth to satisfy the anxiety and curiosity of his hearers. Primitive people want things put in ways they can understand.[22] Paul made his subtle doctrine as simple as he could: he spoke as a babe to babes, or rather baby-language as a nurse speaks to the baby she loves.[23]

Above all he taught them that they were in the Church, and the Church was in Christ and Christ was in God. They must, therefore, be holy and blameless: they must above all purify their affections so as not to bring them down to the crudities of sex and its looseness, as they, like the Syrians, were only too prone to do—rather must they be blameless, honest, living with one another in unselfishness, in patience and in peace.[24] And beside all these gifts of the Spirit came those three virtues which were always echoing through his mind: faith—to turn with undying trust to Him who could give them what they hoped for: hope—which gave them a confident expectation of blessings enriching them from day to day for eternal things: and love and charity which made them one both with one another and with God.[25]

Such, as Paul afterwards recalled, was the teaching which,

with his genius and fervour, he preached in the busy port and in the quiet country town beyond where the Vardar flowed from the Rhodope ranges to meet the traffic of the Empire of Claudius at the foothills of Olympus.

8

A doctrine so spiritual, so pure, so radiant, could not but appeal to those who had already felt within their hearts the holy inspiration which showed them the truth and promises contained—though in form and degree how different!—both in the literature of Israel, and in the epics, the tragedies and the philosophies of Hellas.

Nevertheless it could not but infuriate those who took their religion as an exclusive claim to personal superiority, as the proud legalism of the hypocrite, or as a cloak to the greed of the Levantine haggler and trickster. The Jews who had persecuted the envoy of God in Salonika sent their messengers to Verria: and before long Paul was again on the sea shore, driven to escape; and this time neither Timotheos nor Silvanus was with him.[26] He now planned to make his way along the coast of Thessaly to Attica, to that shrine of Pallas Athene which rose over against Parnes and Hymettos above the Ilissos and the Kephissos—the home of Plato and of Aristotle, of Myron and Praxiteles, the ancient capital where Pericles had gathered the most brilliant genius that not only Europe but the Mediterranean had seen, the very heart of Hellas which was "the nurse of man complete as man" before he became "pregnant with the living God".[27]

XII

IN ATHENS AND CORINTH

1

FROM THE MOMENT HE HAD ARRIVED IN MACEDONIA PAUL HAD been travelling through a country as much marked by its mountainous surface as by its indented outline. Not yet in his life had he seen, nor was he ever to see, anything in nature more remarkable than the view which met him as, with the sun rising upon Olympus, he saw against the dawn beyond the deep gulf the distant height of Athos. The nights were warm with the softness of late summer: the dawn was the one fresh moment: the outlines of the heights rose in signal majesty over the intense colour in air and water. Pelion and Ossa emerged in more distinctness as the boat tacked southward, till between Skopelos and Skiathos his boat turned westward between Euboea* and the great Gulf of Volo.

He was learning for the first time the nature of the true Hellas. The mountains grouped themselves into distinct chains, with well-marked summits and delicate outlines. For Greece is a country of blue and white, like her flag: at every turn the deep inlets of her coast take the bright blue of the sea into the scene with the white summits of her mountains. He was approaching that angle of Thessaly where the Othrys range diverges toward the East from the Aetolian mountains which run south-west. Between these another range passed on to rise to Parnassus, to Helicon, and above the Gulf of Aegina as Parnes and that of Corinth as Cithaeron.

*Now pronounced Evvia.

2

This continuous presence of the mountains and the sea had left its mark on the genius and temper of the Hellenes. The delicacy of the outlines, the purity and brilliance of the colour of every scene made

. . . . interminglings mild
Of light with shade, in beauty reconciled.[1]

The alternation in one view of land and water, of plain and mountain, of wild ravine and shining tableland, of fertile valley and snow-decked crag, all deepened in effect by the sparkling blue coming into every wide view from the indenting sea, stamped on the soul of the lover of Hellas the taste for beauty. It made the people like the country temperate and many sided; it gave them independence. The simple rugged mountaineer was never far away from all that the seafarer brings from his travel and his changes.

The Greeks therefore were as versatile as they were moderate. Humanism came naturally to people living in the long summers in scenes where variety made every vista as interesting as it was symmetrical. Trained also to hardihood at the same time as they had every pleasure of climate, the natives of Greece had been constantly affected by the neighbouring shores of Asia till the very energy of their minds was projected into metaphysics and mystery.

Philosophical, athletic, cultured, versatile, the Hellenes had been for centuries the humanist civilizers of the world: their language was the language of culture and cosmopolitanism; but, though endowed with infinite charm, with taste, with gaiety and with intelligence, they had failed to attain to the loftiness of the Hebrew religion, or to the governing power of Rome.[2] Indebted to them as Paul was for many conceptions, and for

the easy adaptable language which made his project possible, how was he to speak to them, how use their culture to preach the evangel he brought? Such was the question implicit in the fascinating scenes which unfolded as he sailed on to Chalkis and Euripos where every six hours the tide flows in a contrary direction. A few hours later, passing Kynosura, his boat had sailed from the calm waters into waves as it made its way on from the Boeotian coast to where Marathon looks on the sea, and on again to the silver mine of Laurion, where Themistocles had built his fleet for Athens.

As he came round Cape Colonna and entered into the delightful panorama of the Saronic Gulf, he saw in all its beauty the marble temple of Sunion raise its columns direct above the sea. After the course turned to north-west there gradually came into view a crest of rock glistening with marble temples, and as he came nearer he could see that near the largest and finest of these rose a colossal statue of a goddess with helmet and spear flashing in the sun. Then he came in sight of the Acropolis of Athens. In this city of monuments, amid this populace of marble (elegant in the Empire of Claudius as the Cambridge of Longfellow in the States of Abraham Lincoln) he must now procliam the mystery of the Christ.

3

Five hundred years before, under Cimon, the Athenians had taken from Ionia not only her merchandise but her civilization, which meant both her arts and her philosophy. Cimon had planted trees and dressed them, laying out among them walks and fountains. Pericles, succeeding Cimon as ruler, followed him in the protection of the arts, and, as Plutarch records, thought to make Athens the capital of a federated Hellas. But the fame of Athens rested on her supremacy in culture, on the

achievements not of warriors, but of the poet, the sculptor, the builder and the sage. "Revolution after revolution", wrote Newman, "passed over the face of Europe as well as of Greece, but still she was there—Athens, the city of the mind—as radiant, as splendid, as delicate, as young as ever she had been."

"Many a more fruitful coast or isle is washed by the blue Aegean; many a spot is there more beautiful or sublime to see, many a territory more ample, but there was one charm in Attica which in the same perfection was nowhere else. The deep pastures of Arcadia, the plain of Argos, the Thessalian vale, these had not the gift. Boeotia, which lay to its immediate north, was notorious for its very want of it. The heavy atmosphere of that Boeotia might be good for vegetation, but it was associated in popular belief with the dullness of the Boeotian intellect: on the contrary, the special purity, elasticity, cleanness and salubrity of the air of Attica, fit concomitant and emblem of its genius, did that for it which earth did not—it brought out every bright hue and tender shade of the landscape over which it was spread, and would have illuminated the face even of a more bare and rugged country."[3]

4

In this city, steeped in electric air and sparkling with the influence of genius, there was of course a Jewish colony and a synagogue where the zealous, if fatigued, Israelite would find the religion in which he had been brought up, where he could hear of the Law of the Lord, and sing His mercy and His praise.

But what grieved and impressed Paul in the city was that at every point the most admired statues were named after the denizens of Olympus. House after house had, in its tanagras,

miniature representations of these. Above Salonika Paul had been able, on a hill which gave him a superb view of the town and harbour, to survey at leisure the mountain where those gods and goddesses had been said to hold their court. Climbing now above Athens on to Lycabettos he could see not only Parnes, Pentelikon, Hymettos commanding the plain of Attica, but full in view on the eminence which, as he sailed up from Sunion, had first arrested his attention, the shrines of Pallas and her company.

That Doric simplicity, that subtle proportion of line and column, those tinctures of blue and red and yellow on the marble, those reliefs and statues, what in their classic elegance did they convey to the trained Jew who looked at them more than an outrage of the first commandment: "Thou shalt have none other gods but Me"?

5

How, he asked, sick at heart, was he to convey to a people nurtured in this mythology and trained by the Stoics in the Platonic tradition, the idea of a heavenly Father who had sent His Son to save them?

Yet, as he looked at the Athenians more closely, he was reminded that their philosophy was still feeling after God: it still taught that in the world of timeless being reigned a Mind, that this Mind was mirrored in every human being, and that above the unseen and the seen was the majesty of an unalterable Law. Along such lines he could preach to them, he could argue —could he not?—the Majesty of this great God and Lord, whom even the Athenians felt in some dim way to be their master, and who in the life of mystic contemplation not only gave them communion with the ideals of truth, of beauty, and

of love, but showed them justice, prudence, temperance, fortitude as the basis of character, and for them always the love of the ideal was the crown of the life of thought. But he could appeal to something more scientific: the grouping of nations, the ordering of the world, the idea that the very nourishment of life came from an inward Spirit; and surely he could argue from all these to the need of a spiritual renewal, and so to their adoption into that Incarnate God who had raised them to heavenly places when He had risen with His human nature and ascended into heaven.

Along such lines Paul was thinking out his persuasion for the philosophers when, among the statues of naked and perfectly formed young men in which the great sculptors had depicted their ideals, he saw on a tablet the inscription Ἀγνώστοι θεωι : "To the Unknown God". This could mean either of two things: "To one or other of the tutelary powers" or "To the Great God, sought, but abiding hidden". In a surge of pity and hope, the envoy of the Church attached to it the richer meaning; and then he began to set out his argument.

Like fashionable and idle people of culture everywhere, the young Athenians craved always to be at the crest of novelty's wave. Their passion was fashion. And this eloquent Hellenist from Syria provided certainly the last sensation. They led him up from the market-place towards the marble crest of their Acropolis to give a more connected discourse. Below the entrance to this was a lower eminence hanging on a cliff above the city; it overlooked the Theseion and the Agora, and beyond these the busy streets and quiet Colonos; one could see afar against the sunset Daphne and Eleusis and Acro-Corinth and the sea, till gracious outlines faded into luminous sky. Such is the view from the Field of Ares, God of War, where the Cilician Jew was to introduce to classical culture the scheme of his evangel.

The actual words he employed we do not know: the record of his speech is in the words of a suaver and more ordered diction than that ever used by the restless subtlety, the torrential fervour, the inconsequent and arbitrary expansiveness of Paul himself. But a record of his speech recalls how apposite was his argument to men of thought who cherished in their imaginations a sense that Zeus was the father of Gods and men.

6

"Gentlemen of Athens," he began, using the formula of Socrates, "I observe that in all things you are extraordinarily preoccupied with the unseen. For as I was passing through your streets, and looking at your objects of worship, I found a tablet which bore the inscription *To the Unknown God.* What therefore ye unknowingly worship, that I expound to you. The God who made the world and all that is in it, He being the Lord of Heaven and Earth, dwells not in temples made by hands; neither is He served by man's hands as though He needed anything, seeing that He has given to all men life and breath and all things. For He made of one species all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth, having determined beforehand their appointed seasons, and the boundaries of their habitations."

So far Paul had established them on these grounds they could understand:—the unseen power who was the giver of life and who gave to men their place according to climate and natural conditions: and what was the object of the Divine Being in thus ordering the Universe but that they should attain to His mystery?—"To seek God if haply they might feel after Him and find Him, seeing He is not far from every one of us. In Him we live, and move, and have our being, as certain of

your own poets have said. For we also are of His race." Thus in his argument Paul united with the soaring instinct of the poet the metaphysical account of the life and genius of man to the sustaining source of all things. "Being therefore of the race of God," he continued, "we should not worship Him with gold or silver or stone in the handiwork of art and of the conception of man, as though God were such as that. Now having seen from on high those times of unawareness, God at this time cries aloud unto men that all men, in all places, should remould their minds: for He has established a day on which He deems to establish in the inhabited world the decision of justice in the Man whom He has appointed, claiming from all men confidence in Him, for He has raised Him from the dead."[4]

7

As he led his exposition to its climax, the voice of the preacher gathered in power till, with awed yet triumphant conviction, he told of the infallible proof that he could place before them: a man who, after he died, *rose again.*

But as through the warm evening air the voice of the Syrian enthusiast rang on the ears of his sophisticated listeners, it failed in its effect. When the preacher brought forward the argument of an historic fact which transcending their experience offered a new explanation of the universe, they thought it but a naif return to the crudities of poetry and of mythology, which they had long discarded; others, hesitating between incredulity, a fear of ridicule, and a desire not to seem discourteous said: "We will hear you on this subject another time". And Paul, passing through the crowd, came down the hill, baffled, crestfallen and alone.

When a man has surpassed himself in eloquence on a unique theme, and has met with derision, the reaction is bitter and exhausting, but still more difficult for him is the superiority which is too courteous for more than a smile. To continue his mission in Athens was more than he could face. Yet not in vain if from its votaries of wisdom and the arts, some man, some woman, heard, understood, and received in grace the gift that opened the heavenly treasure and drew them to the warm heart of Jesus.

8

Exhausted, yet consoled, that from Athens one soul and yet another, a Damaris, a Denys, had come to the feet of the Redeemer, Paul made his way past Eleusis and Megara to the great modern city of business where at a narrow isthmus the traffic of the Eastern Seas met that of Italy and of Rome in another scene of sapphire and silver, of snowy mountains, of wide prospects and of sparkling sea, of autumn days still mild and warm, of purple nights of stars, of bees, of cicadas, of grapes green and purple, where the breeze turned the olive from sage-green to silver, and where the cypress raised against the azure the tawny splendour of her plume.

Here, where nature was so perfect, ships brought their own beauty and mystery, and the traffickers untied their corded bales.

9

Yet, though so finely set, Corinth was no paradise. Athens had been a shrine of elegance and associations: this was not. It

was a big, crowded haunt where many evils had gathered and many vices were indulged. To the temple of Aphrodite Urania which stood on the heights above, with shrines of Helios and Eros, were dedicated a thousand courtesans.[5] Wearied by his months of adventure, and solicitude, saddened by the paganism and evil surging round him, weakened at the end of the summer by a return of malaria, and depressed by poverty, Paul felt all exhilaration leave him. Turning to Jesus for consolation, he found in Him above all the Man of Sorrows. And leaving the high argument he had so masterfully prepared for the cultured society of Athens to speak something more suitable to sailors and to shopmen, to worldlings and voluptuaries, and to Jewish pedlars and their women, he turned to the Cross: he preached nothing but Christ Crucified: he longed that men might die to sin for the sake of Him who died to save them.

He gave up what he called excellency of speech: he said nothing for the philosophers: he lost all personal confidence. He was shaking from the ague: he was feeble and sore broken: his strength failed him. But Paul owes his place in history to the fact that he could make of Christ Crucified a theme more eloquent than the highest speculations of the Platonists: more telling than a tragic oration written by Sophocles or Aeschylus to tell of the stuff that weighs heaviest on the human heart.

XIII

DIVINE FORCE AND ENERGY

1

HOW WAS THE TIRED TRAVELLER TO LIVE? THE SAME EDICT OF Claudius which had accentuated his difficulties in Salonika and Verria now supplied him with the aid he needed. Among the Jews expelled from Rome was an Armenian Jew, who had taken his name from the eagle, Aquila: he had married a woman of a certain rank and cultivation, for she had the elegant Roman name of Priscilla. These were already Christians.[1] And Paul, providentially, came on them soon after his arrival. So began one of his happiest friendships. They understood the weaving of goats' hair, and soon the three friends were working together at the same craft. Such was the occupation Paul found for his hands while his nerves rested: on the sabbath day, he went as usual to the synagogue. And there, adding the training and authority of a Rabbi to his force of Christian conviction, he had soon won over the very Ruler of the Synagogue, Stephanas; there were several other new names: Gaius, Quartus, Fortunatus, Crispus, Titus, Justus, Chloe: to write into the book of life.[2]

But one morning the loom was still. Silvanus and Timotheos had arrived from Macedonia. How much they had to say, explaining just what the difficulties were—the doubts, the failings—the curiosity about the new life, and the rising of the Christ. Since Paul dared not go back, all he could do was to write a letter; and this, though not one of his masterpieces, was to be read, studied, quoted, as no great passage of prose or verse yet written in Attica.

Did Paul write it himself? He never wrote with his own hand; at the appointed hour his amanuensis would appear with writing materials. The ink was made of charcoal, gum and water, compounded so skilfully that, after nearly 2,000 years, enough of the colour remains to make the writing legible. The pen was a reed, cut and trimmed to a point like a quill. The material to be written on was manufactured from the pith of papyrus, a plant growing beside the Nile. In texture and colour it was not unlike the smooth, whitish-brown paper used in modern times by shopkeepers as a wrapping for parcels.

Papyrus could be bought in either separate sheets or rolls. The average size of a single sheet for private use was about 10 inches by 5 inches. The rolls were composed of a number of sheets joined together by the maker.

The writing was not continued in long lines across the papyrus; it was set down in narrow columns each about 3 inches wide, and there might be five such parallel columns running down the roll with an interval of an inch or two between them. Many words were written in a contracted form. There was no punctuation, no division into chapters and verses and no space between words. The papyrus on which it was written would be rolled very tightly and either tied with a thread or fastened with a clay seal.[3]

Such then was the way his words were set down.

What were their claims to attention? Even in its opening salutation, this letter told of conceptions richer and more elevated than Hellenes, with all their genius had heard: "Paul and Silvanus and Timotheos to the Church of Salonika in God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ. Grace be to you and peace".[4] Those simple Macedonians were then in God and *God was their father!* They were the inheritors from Him of grace and peace! Paul went on to speak of faith, of love, of hope. The evangel had come to him not in word only, but in

power, and in the Holy Spirit, and in much abundance so that his converts became an example to all that believed.

Therefore also, he said, "We give thanks to God constantly that taking up the spoken word of God from us, you received it not as the word of men, but as it truly is, the word of God who is a force and energy working anew within you who have the faith".[5] He spoke, in words of intense ardour, of his love for his people: he pleaded his own example: he spoke of his longing to see them again: he was taken from them in presence not in heart. "We would have come to you, I, Paul, once and again, but Satan hindered us. For what is our crown of triumph if not you, in the presence of our Lord Jesus in His coming? For you are our glory and our joy."[6]

Had Athens in the age of Pericles, or Macedonia in that of Alexander, heard so warm a language of the heart, so great confidence and thankfulness, so vital an identification of man with man, so full and deep a sense of the relations of himself with others, that it was "glory and joy"? "The Lord make you to abound in love one towards another and towards all, as we also do to you, so as to establish you all unblameable in holiness in the presence of God our Father at the coming of our Lord Jesus with all His saints."[7]

2

What was God's plan for them? That they should be made holy. Freed from lust and passion, their hearts should catch fire with the love of God, who had taught them to love one another. Love with faith was their breastplate: their helmet the hope of salvation. All were to be in Christ who died that, whether we wake or sleep, whether we live or die, we should be with Him: for in His presence is life. So the Christians'

ways were to be transformed till they ever followed that which was good, both among themselves and with all men: "Rejoice evermore: pray constantly: in every happening give thanks . . . and the very God of peace sanctify you wholly, and may your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless in the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Faithful is He who calls you, who also will accomplish this. Brothers, pray also for us. Greet all the brothers with the holy sign of love. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all."[8]

Such was the first letter he sent to be read in Europe to all the Churches: he mentioned those of Salonika: he must have had in mind all his converts in Macedonia: all who had come to live in Christ since he had heard the voice of the pleading Macedonian in that dream which he had dreamed in the harbour close to Troy.

The thought of them made even his persecution among them seem a gain: what were tribulations but a cause of glory? In his sense of triumph he forgot the many things that grieved and disturbed his soul in the tainted life of Corinth, which was to owe to his presence and his work a new celebrity; gathering to itself associations that mingled oddly with those which otherwise made its name familiar to the world—fluted columns and dried grapes.

3

The Emperor Claudius had decided at this time again to send a Senator to govern Achaia; his new Proconsul was a man of unusual culture and unusual charm. Son of a well-known speaker, elder brother to an essayist and thinker famous still as Seneca, Marcus Annaeus Novatus took an interest both in nature and in books; this combined with his delightful manners

and his wit to fascinate all who knew him; his polished culture made him eminently suited to govern for Rome the province which contained Tiryns, Argos, Epidauros, Eleusis and Athens. As a boy, he had been adopted and trained by another well-known orator, Lucius Junius Gallio, and at adoption, he had taken his foster father's name.[9]

Such was the writer before whom the recalcitrant Jews of Corinth now led the newcomer who had converted the former leader of their synagogue. After the conversion of Crispus, another had been appointed ruler of the synagogue in his place. This new man, Sosthenes, complained that whereas by the edicts of Caesar the Jews were guaranteed freedom of worship, they were being disturbed by a new sect that had no such privileges of immunity.

In an argument of Jew against Jew, why should a Roman interfere? As soon as the Proconsul had heard the complaints of a man whom he must needs regard as another Jewish fanatic, he made the answer that every experienced administrator of that time or this would make. He was there to uphold the Roman law: to exercise administration, not to take a part in personal quarrels or in arguments as to what this ubiquitous and insistent tribe made of a peculiar religion. "If it were a question of a crime or irregularity, I should hear you in the proper way," he said, "but if this is a dispute on a matter of your teaching, or the interpretation of your authority, or a controversy over your books, you must settle that yourselves. I do not want to pass judgment on such matters."[10]

Imperturbable, shrewd, urbane, but perfectly clear as to his authority, the cultured Roman gave orders to clear the court. There was an uproar and Sosthenes, obstinately refusing to give way, soon felt the blows of the lictor's rod, perhaps of others. The greater the uproar, the more decided the unconcern of Marcus Annaeus Novatus Gallio. Convinced of his

superiority, he turned with his habitual urbanity to more congenial and more practical affairs. So it was that the man of genius who was to play a part in Roman culture for century on century made no impression on the Roman who was the most cultured and advanced of any that he ever met. Charming manners, worldly experience and literary culture may easily leave on one side him whom history afterwards recognised as the great reformer of society, and the master of spiritual truth. But in later years Gallio was to have, after a distinguished and honourable life, the same fate as Paul. Nero gave each their reward.

4

Though silenced, as he was about to speak to the Proconsul, Paul learnt from him a significant thing: he learnt that to the Roman administration his evangel was to be considered not a new religion, hostile to the Emperor, but as a variant of the Jewish religion which Caesar had sanctioned long since by edict after edict. He was therefore legally free to preach as he wished: if the proconsuls were not all as favourable as Sergius Paulus in Cyprus, yet he need not expect them to be more hostile than Annaeus Gallio in Achaia. The conclusion was simple: he should remember that where proconsuls had set up their provincial capitals, he had the Roman law to guarantee his freedom.

At Cenchrea, the Eastern port of Corinth, Paul again found Jews and among the women a convert whom he trusted, Phoebe. While there, whether in thankfulness for a favour, as a pledge for future blessings, or to complete a ritual preparation, Paul had his head shorn. Thus marked as a Jew, set apart for a special purpose, and strictly observant of the Jewish re-

ligion, he set sail from Corinth for Ephesus, the Roman capital of Asia, on his way to report to Jerusalem the result of years of enterprise.[11]

5

Before he did so, however, he wrote a second time to Salonika. Silvanus and Timotheos, returning, had brought back a fresh account of persecution and afflictions. Paul though touched was not dismayed. Such afflictions were but the sure sign of God's favour. "We pray always for you", he wrote, "that our God may make and count you worthy of your calling, and may fulfil every inclination of goodness and work of faith in you."[12] His prayer was that Christ might be glorified in them and they in Christ.

He had heard that they were still absorbed in the idea of a fresh advent of the Redeemer. He had to speak of it much when he was with them: he had already once written at length about it: he must now write once again to warn them that before Christ came, the lawless one should display his power to deceive in signs and portents. But the great mystery of Christianity was independent of such events as these. "God chose you from the beginning for salvation in the hallowing of the spirit, and in believing the truth, and for this He called you through our evangel to encompass and embrace the glory of Christ our Lord."[13]

If therefore they talked much, as the Jews had been in the habit of talking of the great coming of the Lord, when he would return like a monarch making a state visitation to some region of his territory, Paul would answer them in symbolical terms such as they would understand. The nurse, he said, when she explains things to a baby, must talk in baby talk. But

though he had not forgotten what, as a Jew, he had once gathered from the Talmud or the Midrash, the importance of the distinction between this world and the world to come, or the age to come, was, in the power and intensity of his inward vision, dying away. "The writers of the New Testament", says Prat, "give the present age or present world only a moral value: the present age has lost its notion of duration and the present world its idea of space; henceforth, the present age and the age to come can interpenetrate each other; there is no chronological interval between them; there are only opposing influences. On the one hand the idea of a sudden catastrophe inaugurating the reign of the Messiah, and of an instantaneous cataclysm caused by God alone, without the co-operation of man, who will be only a passive instrument, gives place to that of a Messianic Kingdom, developing by degrees till the consummation of all things. In these conditions the Jewish concept of the age or the world to come was almost inapplicable, and it was necessary to replace it by eternal life."[14]

"This idea of a world which was gradually to become the realm where corruption was done away and the spirit ruled was the fruit of a belief rich in the gifts already given. It made them the pledge of immortality and glory. The Spirit of Life is already within us. The pledge we have received is not distinct from the Holy Spirit, it is the Holy Spirit; it is a gift we already possess, though by more closely identifying ourselves with it, by making it more intimately our own, we can bring it as we bring ourselves to perfection."[15]

Grace flowers out into glory. Between the one and the other, who shall too sharply distinguish?[16] "Whoever is grafted into Christ is by that very fact associated with His immortal life in glory."[17]

Such was the assurance which Paul proclaimed from the beginning to the end.

6

It had been the achievement of Paul to have arrived at this scheme from the strictest intelligent appreciation that a cosmopolitan Jew could give to the gradual unfolding of the Old Testament. He was born into its tribal code: he was steeped in its superb literature from which he could draw treasures at will: phrase after phrase he had found most precious: phrase after phrase had shown itself elastic and alive: as he put his hand into the jewels he found infinite riches in a little room: and from them he could draw at will things which flashed like an opal with hidden lights and fires. But what excited him in the Jewish Scriptures was their expectancy. For wisdom in her subtlety told him that "while all things held quiet silence, wisdom came from her hidden throne". Like those around him, he was waiting for the King who would force Rome and all the world to acknowledge that the Jews were the people God chose.

Then, to his human mind was added a gift of spiritual experience so overpoweringly real as to lift him into another order: that of faith, of revelation and of mystery; so it is through these that he is led to his knowledge of the Christ, and of holiness, and of both in the fulness of the Church.

7

To manifest and irradiate this glory: such was the task he had accomplished in Macedonia and Achaia. Where Thasos and Athos rose from the deep gulf of Kavalla, where the Roman arch marked the triumph of Caesar's successor on the Egnatian Road at Philippi, where that road came to a great harbour over against Olympus; in the quieter country town in

the valley below the mountain, in his journey past the shores of Thessaly and Boeotia, among the sculpture and the pillars of the city of Plato and Praxiteles, in the traffic, the volatility and the vice of Corinth, he had brought not only the news, but the power, of a new way of life. Men, to escape from the dangers which they feared and the defilements which disheartened them, should lift the everlasting doors to the King of Glory. But how manage such engineering as this? By the electric current of holiness—which came to them as divine grace, which grew among them as peace.

Yet his depression at Corinth, his repugnance to what he saw there, his recoil from the culture of Athens, all leading as they did to an insistence on the Crucifixion, left a danger behind. The Corinthians were given to cliques and factions. When, after his departure, they heard from men of Jerusalem of something more personal of the life of Christ: when they heard from Alexandria of the philosophic line given by the School of Philo, there were many who questioned whether Paul was really the man to follow.

8

But his memories of his crude converts in Corinth mingled with many others, as in the Spring weather he sailed between the Isles of Greece, which floated like leaves in the blue sea, till after two or three days of sailing he reached Ephesus, and on through the Straits between Samos and Trogyllion, past many a hilly island and sandy bay, past Calymna and Kos to Piskopi. After passing Rhodes, he went out of sight of land and harbour into the vast void of the Lycean and Egyptian Sea: day after day he sailed on beneath the mast and ropes through wind and calm: through hours of choppy water,

through ease and discomfort, through navigation and through danger. In it all, as the sails flapped or filled, he was absorbed in the sense of the power that mastered him; associating it with memories of the great poems he had learned from the Septuagint as a boy. In more senses than one he was exercising his business in great waters: he saw the works of the Lord and His wonders in the deep: at times he was at his wits' end: and in the movement of the ship, as it staggered like a drunken man, he remembered that more than once he had been shipwrecked, and once spent a whole night and day before he was picked up: and again he was in perils of great waters. But he never doubted that if they cried to the Lord in their trouble, He would deliver them from their distress.[18]

And so indeed it proved. Again the Lord showed his loving kindness. Again the waves subsided; and at last at Caesarea Paul with his company reached the haven that they desired.

From thence over familiar paths, he made his way once more to Jerusalem.

XIV

INTRIGUE AND CONSOLATION

1

WE KNOW BUT LITTLE OF WHAT OCCUPIED PAUL WHILE HE was now again in the Holy City. But he was evidently anxious to keep his missionary enterprise in close touch with the Jews he had won over to his side at the Council. Nor did he forget the contribution he had sent three years before. He carried back a very clear idea of the importance of that means of persuasion when he went back to Antioch for a stay, in which some authorities think he wrote again to the Galatians. And from here he set out once more to face the hardships of travel on land: once more he faced the cold, the insufficient clothing, the exhausting days of travel, the danger from bandits, the hunger, the thirst, the disturbed nights, the encounters with infuriated Jews. Whether at this time or another, Paul was twice beaten by the fasces of the Roman lictors as he had been at Philippi: and on five separate occasions he was counted strong enough to suffer the full thirty-nine blows of the leathern thongs of the Jews. He spoke afterwards of being treated shamefully at Lystra and Derbe: and perhaps where once he had been chastised, he was chastised again.[1] He may well have travelled down the course of the Hermus through Philadelphia and Sardis. All that we are told, however, is that after passing through the region of Galatia and Phrygia he arrived finally at Ephesus, which the Romans had made the capital of their province in Asia Minor. Paul, having abandoned the Orontes, transferred thither his centre of interest. He settled in its capital now for three years.

2

Ephesus had by now displaced in the traveller's predilection the claims which Miletos had established on the conjunction of its excellent harbour with the neighbouring mouth of the Mæander. Ephesus was on a smaller river, the Cayster; its mouth afterwards silted up, and by now the city, which was three miles from the sea on the banks of a lagoon communicating with the river, is but a humid swamp. Only a few scattered columns remain to speak of the ancient capital: only white swans on the marsh remind us that in Homer's time swans were already there.[2]

The Romans ruled in Ephesus; to rule there was no sinecure; in spite of some admirable statues by Greek sculptors, its streets combined with cosmopolitanism the aspect of a crowded but rather ramshackle, oriental bazaar: the traffic was extremely busy: many traders were wealthy: some no doubt were cultured. But in spite of the views of mountains to the East, and of islands against the sunset, the spirit of the Ephesians was debased; their obeisance to the Roman power was servile. They shared much with the people of the Syrian capital which Paul had left.[3]

No one in the town was better known than Balbillus the astrologer.[4] The streets were crowded with magicians, with chapmen selling amulets and medals, with jewellers, with dancers, with youths playing on the flute, and novelists creating lurid love-stories. Men searched for the lightest pleasures, and they found them—till even the Greeks were shocked. Dancers were accompanied by soft Lydian airs: at times the flutes or trumpets rose shrill, and the trumpets jangled; maenads, their hair flying in the wind, and androgynes, uttering wild cries, danced through the streets.

Orgy, frenzy, gluttony, lust, drunkenness and violence were

the outcome of the torchlight festivals and crude rituals in which men pressed towards the temple of their favourite idol —a deformity, who above her legs and thighs, stiffly encased in a garment bearing meaningless inscriptions, showed multitudinous teats and crude features surmounted by a crown in the shape of a tower. In her hands were a trident and a club. Such was the effigy to whom Ephesians had given the name of Artemis, worshipping as a goddess of fertility, whom the Greeks honoured as a huntress chaste and fair. To house it the Ephesians had built a temple, with columns of jasper on a base of Parian marble. Each of these was sixty feet high. Countless lamps lit up statues of carved ivory decorated with gems, while a purple curtain veiled the famous idol.

In this centre, which shared much on the one side with Syria and on the other with Hellas, and was mastered by Rome, there was of course an important colony of Jews: busy in all the trafficking of the bazaar—busy where the smooth waters of the lagoon mirrored many masts—busy, some of them, in the law and the prophets of their religion.[5]

Such was the capital to which the tireless Paul now came to organize Churches amid the valleys watered by the Mæander, and the Lycus, valleys sheltered beneath the lofty line of Tmolus, or the peak of Cadmus, as, above the Mæander valley, it rose into the blue. The whole province was to hear his evangel: he established Churches as far north as Pergamos; at the great port of Smyrna, as at Ephesus itself, inland at Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea and Thyatira.

The climate of Ionia was delightful; life was easy, leisure common. The whole country then, as even now, breathed gaiety and charm.

In this atmosphere of pleasure, of leisure, sometimes of indulgence, Paul, offering to the natural goodwill of the people that spiritual joy which melts the hardness of the heart, began

to bring their gifts and his own to fruition. This Asian province of the Roman Empire became a province of the Kingdom of Heaven.

3

When he arrived at Ephesus, he found there not only the cultivated Priscilla with her Armenian Aquila, who had migrated from Corinth, but a new convert, Epainetos; with them, a man of a higher order of gifts, an Alexandrian of the School of Philo, a man who taking his name, Apollonius or Apollos,[6] from the God of Sun and Genius, added eloquence to a profound knowledge of the Septuagint. From the time of his arrival in Ephesus, he had been expounding his belief that the Messiah had come: but he had not yet learnt the inner teaching of the Church, the belief in a Holy Spirit pouring out gifts of grace: Paul's friends from Corinth had been explaining to him the mystery that it was from the Spirit of Christ that love was spread abroad in men's hearts to make them holy: and that this gift was given in the mystery of regeneration when they were by baptism born into Christ.

Such was the company Paul found on his return to Ephesus; some twelve converts were received into the Church, and after Paul had laid his hands on them, the mysterious power, descending, moved them to speak as the oracles and inspired preachers of God.

4

The early Church moved in the exercise of psychological phenomena. A belief in demons and spirits was general: and

not uncommonly these entities obsessed the souls of men with effect we can parallel to-day; for demonology is not an outmoded fashion.

The ideas of obsession and of illness were as definitely linked, to their minds, as those of error and illness in any Christian Scientist of the twentieth century: cures are still effected to-day: cures were effected then. The very garments that Paul had worn were used as channels of his power: they took the handkerchiefs with which he wiped his face dry in the heat, the aprons he wore at his work, and, like a psychometrist of to-day, they found that, with this means of contact, those who were diseased in mind and body could be healed.[7]

Those who practised magic arts recognised that in Paul was a force greater than their own: his method of power over the unseen they recognised to be the true one: and many of these occultists were won over to the new faith. Many of them brought their books to a bonfire: and so highly were these books valued that those sacrificed in the fires were valued at no less than fifty thousand silver drachmas.

5

Paul's sojourn in Ephesus coincided also with a drama in Roman history. While he had been travelling the Emperor Claudius had died — to be succeeded not by his own son, Britannicus, but by his stepson, Nero, the son of his wife Agrippina by her former husband Germanicus. Agrippina was the ablest and most unscrupulous of mothers. Since the Emperor's son was in the way of her own son's succession, this Roman lady felt no scruple in plotting; and before long some one had poisoned Brittanicus.

In the experienced Proconsul of Asia, M. Junius Silanus,

ST. PAUL IN PRISON
From a painting by Rembrandt at Stuttgart

she detected another possible rival to this young usurper. He did not look dangerous; so stately was the bearing of the Proconsul, so ample his resources, so sluggish his mind that he was known as "The Golden Sheep".[8] But he was also a descendant of Augustus and that, as Tacitus said, was cause enough for a crime. As Agrippina had murdered his brother, so she determined to give him also a dose of the tincture which she had found so efficacious in the case of Britannicus. Two Roman equites, Aelius and Celer, were sent from Rome to offer him a banquet, and he died.[9]

Such was the event which now disorganized life in Ephesus; it presented the acute Paul with a double problem. He had already learnt from the favours of Sergius Paulus, and from the refusal of Gallio to interfere if the Jews were troublesome, that he might expect protection from the Roman law. But here was a difficulty: if that august law were compromised and the Roman Court itself stained with crime, he dared not refer to any help received in Ephesus by the murdered proconsul.

6

Again, if the Roman order were itself in abeyance, might not the Jews seize the opportunity to press their opposition? What steps they took, we cannot tell: but from many references to an imprisonment, it seems reasonable to think that Paul was now arrested.[10] The Philippians had heard he was in trouble. Shortly after he left Ephesus he was to write that he had been in prison many times—more often than any other apostle. He wrote before leaving Ephesus that he "was in danger every hour"[11] and, in arguing for the Resurrection of the dead, asked at the same time "If I fought with wild beasts at Ephesus,

what does it avail me if the dead rise not?"[12] He wrote after leaving Ephesus of terrible trials in Asia Minor, trials by which he was so crushed that he despaired.[13] He wrote after arriving at Corinth a few months later, and (almost certainly) to Ephesus, "Salute Andronicus and Junia, my *fellow prisoners*".[14]

Apart from his own evidence that he had been in prison several times more than when he was arrested at Philippi, St. Clement of Rome who knew him personally speaks of seven arrests; Marcion in his prologue to the Colossians said that "the Apostle, already in chains, wrote to them from Ephesus". There are even legends that Paul was thrown to a lion; and the ruins of a tower at Ephesus, known as Paul's prison, also point back to the belief that he was imprisoned there.[15]

Evidence to contravene all these assertions is insufficient; even if they do not amount to proof, the biographer should state them. For if St. Paul did not undergo any of these imprisonments at Ephesus, where did he undergo them?

7

The mention of these imprisonments always leads to the conjecture that during his sojourn at Ephesus, Paul wrote his Epistle to the Philippians. The idea is far from new. It was advanced by Goguel. When Dr. Maurice Jones produced his commentary on the Epistle in 1918, he found much to say in support of it. Professor Duncan's work which appeared in 1929 argued strongly for it. Dr. Manson, though he does not accept Professor Duncan's evidence of an Ephesian imprisonment, entirely agrees that the Epistle was written at this stage of Paul's career.[16] There is nothing to refute his contention. The reason why it was not current earlier was that St. Paul said that his imprisonment was known to the whole "praetorium":[17]

in the Authorised Version "praetorium" is translated "a palace": but this word, although applicable to the Emperor's palace refers more often to the "Government House" of a praetor in a colony, and is used in two Gospels in this sense. Nor was "Caesar's household" necessarily all at Rome. Many members of it might be attached to a kinsman such as was M. Junius Silanus in his colony.

It was never easy to see first how the Philippians got news of Paul's imprisonment, how they then could send Epaphroditos, how Epaphroditos and Timotheos are to be sent back, and how he himself counts on coming to see them again, if the background were the long expensive journey from Philippi to Rome. A place in the boat coming down the coast of Asia Minor from Cavalla was a very different matter. Furthermore, since Paul himself speaks of coming again,[18] it must be remembered that his hopes of doing this in Rome were slight, in Ephesus they were almost certain.

Finally, there is in the third chapter a bitter attack on intriguing Jews as dogs, and evil workers; there is a defence of Paul himself as a Hebrew of the Hebrews. Both of these would be out of place at the end of his career in Rome when other cases were more insistent: both fit into their place at a time when he was dealing with each of these points in arguments addressed to Corinth, and which would particularly apply if, as at Corinth, the Jews at Ephesus had reported him to the authorities.

8

What is the gist of this epistle? It is written as a relaxation from *factious converts at Corinth.* Its note is joy. Again and again, the example of the wealthy Lydia, and the open generosity of the Italians had come to support him in his need. "I

thank my God", he began "on every remembrance of you . . ." from the first day till that moment they had helped him to spread his evangel; they all shared with him the gift of grace: he prayed that they should abound more and more in knowledge and discernment, being filled with the fruits of righteousness, which come through the Christ, to the glory and praise of God.

He went on to explain how his very arrest had helped the advance of the evangel. Not only was this so among the praetorian guard and the rest, but others had seen that they might dare fearlessly to speak the word of God. Some did so, because they regarded Paul's arrest as a proof of Roman goodwill; others falsely, hoping to embarrass him by causing disquiet among the Romans. But in either case, the Christ was made known, and Paul was confident in his hope that in his own body, whether he lived or died, the greatness of Christ would be made manifest. "To me," he wrote in one of those reverberant phrases which take us to the heart of his mysticism, "*To me to live is Christ and to die is gain*".[19]

On the one side he longed to die and be with Christ, which is far better; but for their sakes the greater necessity was to live; and as for him the grace of faith had been made nobler by the heroism of affliction, so for them also affliction had brought to faith a more glorious crown. "To you", he said, "it has been given as a grace, for Christ's sake, not only to believe in Him but also to suffer on His account, having that same contest which you saw me wage—and now hear that I engage in."[20]

The thought of this unity of life and feeling in the Church in Christ was a theme which moved him to wonder and joy, as these in turn moved him to eloquence:—

> If therefore there is any encouragement in Christ (he wrote),

If there is any consolation in mutual love,
If any communion of the Spirit,
If any tenderness and compassion,
Ah, fill my joy full,
That you may have minds alike, that feeling alike you love one another,
Linked in life and soul, your thoughts on the one thing;
Do nothing for rivalry or vainglory,
But live modestly, accounting one another as excelling yourselves.
Each regarding the other's interests rather than his own,
Among yourselves have the mind which was in Christ Jesus,
Who, though really in the fashion of God,
Thought not His equality with God a prize to be grasped.
But He allowed Himself to suffer loss,
Taking the fashion of a slave,
Having been made in the likeness of men,
And being found in the form of a man,
He made Himself low,
Being made obedient unto death,
The death, indeed, of the cross,
Therefore also God has raised Him to transcend,
And granted Him as grace the name above every name,
That in the name of Jesus every knee should bend,
Of those in heaven, and those on earth, and those beneath the sod,
And every tongue make music to proclaim
Jesus as Lord and Christ, to give glory to our Father God.[21]

He is repeating the words of a hymn, such as the new believers

had already begun to sing: an anthem which believers have celebrated through the ages.

Who is this so weak and helpless,
  Son of lowly Hebrew maid,
Coldly in a stable sheltered,
  Rudely in a manger laid?
'Tis the Lord of all Creation
  Who this wondrous path has trod,
He is God from Everlasting,
  And to everlasting God.[22]

Paul's rhapsody of adoration sprang from the thought of the Christian life, as men in the faith were living it with one another in Grace.

9

Faith in Christ, not as merely distinct from, but as actually opposed to, the rules and system of the Hebrew Law—that was to him the dawning of the eternal day — "that is my object," he says, "that I might join Christ and be found in Him—not with my own rightness of living—that which comes from the Law—but that which comes from the faith of Christ —that of knowing Him and the power of His Resurrection and the communion of His sufferings, when I share with Him in the nature of His death, if by any means I might attain to the Resurrection of the dead. . . . For our citizenship is really in heaven, from whence also we await a redeemer, the Lord Jesus Christ, who will transform the body of our earthliness that it may share in the nature of the body of His glory by the energy which enables Him to marshal under Himself all things. Therefore, my brothers, dear and desired, my joy and

my crown, stand like that, ah! firmly in the Lord, my dear ones. . . . Rejoice in the Lord always and again I say rejoice: may your reasonableness be recognised by all men. The Lord is near. In no case be anxious, but in all things, by worship and petition with thanksgiving let your requests be made known before God. And the peace of God which passes all understanding guard your hearts and minds in Christ Jesus.[23]

"Finally, my brothers, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are worthy of veneration, whatsoever things are right, whatsoever things are stainless, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any excellence, and if there be any praise, let your thoughts dwell on these."[24]

Paul saw mystical perfection concordant with the finest things of classic culture. Trust, thanksgiving, rejoicing, adoration steeped the natural movements of claims for justice, of irony, of impetuousness which marked his tense and strenuous nature. He spoke of himself as the athlete training and striving, not yet successful, as pressing towards the winning post to gain the prize: but realising that the divine purpose was being perfected in him from hour to hour, he was at peace even in his effort and his straits. "I have learned in whatever state I am to be content. I can live in lowly circumstances: I can live in plenty. In each and everything have I learnt to have more than enough, and to be hungry: to have sufficient and to run short. I can do all things in Him who strengthens me."[25]

XV

THE MASTER OF ELOQUENCE

1

WHETHER IT WAS THE TRAINING OF APOLLOS, OR WHETHER IT was the ripe development of something he had learnt in earlier years at Tarsus, or whether pleading developed his native eloquence, Paul now becomes a finished and artistic writer, inserting in his letters passages of eloquent rhetoric and sustained power. His fervour, his conversational acumen, his mysticism, his sympathy—these he had shown in writing to Salonika and Lycaonia—these with tenderness, with moments of indignation, with waves and storms of feeling, combined with revelation; but while he was at Ephesus he began to write passages of more distinct style: though he is often occupied with little local questions, questions peculiar to the time, the highly wrought and continued passages of eloquence, which, by now, occur in his writings, make a special claim on a man of letters.

He was not naturally a classic essayist carefully composing an ordered whole: he does not scruple to descend from the heights to bathos. He has some minute affairs to discuss: how men and women should wear their hair: and some distasteful ones: how to deal with a man who has made his step-mother his mistress: one problem common to the time when animals were killed not at a slaughter-house but at the altar (the question discussed already at Jerusalem of eating the flesh of animals which were killed, not according to Jewish rules but definitely as a sacrifice to heathen gods). Such questions were

temporary and local, not universal: and they give literature little scope.

But joined with these were the highest themes: the power of love and charity: the meaning of the Resurrection; the unity of the Church: and, at the very beginning, he wishes to explain how this great question overrides any sense of faction, and how it was a mystery which could not be discussed but by a special initiation, a special *grace,* so that men should rise above their own natures and share the perfect things of God.

2

We have seen how in his former visit to Corinth he had, in his reactions from Athens and from his journey, emphasised the Cross and the Crucifixion: now his converts saw facets of the truth of which he had shown nothing.

New experiences and more exciting ones crowded upon their turbulent consciousness. They began to feel the psychological effects of a new inrush of life. They had fresh tastes of that ecstatic utterance known as "glossolalia" or "speaking with tongues". This had been accepted at Jerusalem as evidence that the Spirit was poured out on them. Nor was an experience of the kind unknown in the religious excitement of pagan rites.[1] Under the influence of strong emotional excitement a thrill passes to the nervous system: and the impression of ecstasy is relieved, the current of nervous or electric energy is released by speech. As Kirsopp Lake puts it, "inhibitions are removed under the stress of great emotion and the words flow out with no more logical consequence than the events of a dream".[2]

It is no uncommon experience in dreams and trances that the soul feels itself in possession of a highly significant secret: again and again men have tried to keep for waking conscious-

ness some phrase that would signify the wealth in their possession, but the phrase is sometimes an illusion. Poulain records an attempt to do this: a man astounded by the splendour of an experience in dreams sought to write down a key word to turn the secret doors. He found on coming to himself that when he had taken up his pen the words he wrote were: "There was everywhere a strong smell of turpentine".[3]

3

If the pen was not at the disposal of the person in ecstasy, his tongue was. When the subject of the affliation became frenzied, he (or she) "began to babble and utter strange sounds", inopportune, unnatural. This phenomenon appeared in England itself in the nineteenth century. Greville listened to a woman in Edward Irving's chapel:—"The speaker, after ejaculating three 'Ohs', one rising above the other in tones very musical, burst into a flow of unintelligible jargon which whether it was in English or gibberish I could not discover. This lasted five or six minutes, and as her voice was silenced, another woman, in more passionate and louder tones, took it up. This last spoke in English, and words, though not sentences, were distinguishable.

"She spoke sitting under great apparent excitement, and screamed on till from exhaustion, as it seemed, her voice gradually died away and all was still."[4]

In Mrs. Oliphant's *Life of Edward Irving*, this experience is described again in relation to a certain R. Baxter.[5] Once again we have an account of ecstatic utterance both in no known language, and in languages unknown to the speaker. The effect was very great.

These modern revivals had each their early counterparts,

when men proclaiming that they were divine, or divinely inspired, spoke unintelligible ravings, which however were as thrilling, and unearthly, as they were unaccountable.[6]

Besides these expressions of religious excitement there was violent intellectual curiosity. Some sought truth in the exercise of metaphysics, and this was known as the search for wisdom or philosophy.[7] Others sought their end by initiation into mysteries, and for these it was the inner knowledge, the *Gnosis*, that gave power. The Jewish women in Corinth felt the emancipating example of Greek and of Roman women.[8]

4

Such was but one of the experiences of the community of converts at Corinth. Few of them were well off, or well educated, or well born; many of them were, no doubt, marked with the peculiar quality of the Jewish pedlars scattered through the Empire, while others knew already in Corinth both the frenzy of its religious processions and the corruption of its central shrines of Aphrodite. Such a community—avid for experience, little exercised in the discipline of emotion, and familiar with the traffic and looseness of the Levantine immigrants in a Corinth already corrupt—could easily develop extravagances: apart from their ecstasies and their fashions, there were some who would ill-distinguish Christian requirements from their old pagan habits; others who would still hold themselves apart with the proud exclusiveness of the Jew. Some of the women developed ecstasies that might impress a congregation or they might annoy it: others, discarding their veils, would parade themselves in bare heads, thus causing scandal to messengers from Asia who never saw women unless veiled, and disturbing too the holy intentions which come to

pure minds from those angels who behold the divine glory—disturbing perhaps to the deacons who administered the sacraments.[9]

5

Into this fickle and excitable lot of converts came two novel influences. One was friendly to Paul: it was the brilliant and eloquent Egyptian who, in flowing utterance, poured out the explanation of parables and facts in the Alexandrian way so congenial to the Hellenic mind. He could make Christianity philosophical. This had its effect: and since it was itself just what Paul had avoided in Corinth, it provoked invidious comparisons. But it was not the only difficulty. Open enemies had arrived from Jerusalem to belittle Paul and to claim that the true way was not his, but quite another, which they pretended to identify with that Cephas, who to Paul, and to all, was a leader undisputed.[10]

Paul therefore had much to correct among his converts. He first wrote a letter which has been lost: some think they have discovered part of it in the second letter that remains. And then he addressed himself to Corinth a second time, in that letter we know as the First Epistle to the Corinthians. From the very beginning, this shows the writer and thinker in all the reach and grasp of his devouring genius. It is plain that Paul now saw that preaching Christ crucified, in terms simple or eloquent, was not enough. He must preach the whole Christ in all His sublimity; he must write in a style fitting to the noblest subject ever spoken of by man. He began with a passage echoing in the long vowel sounds of the genitive the names of God and Christ and Lord, and mingling these with the sibilant in his own name and in words of hallowing and grace,

in an interweaving of kindred sounds, these were broken only by the word *Eirene*, translating the Hebrew *shalom* and meaning peace. Taking up the word *grace*, he then reminded them that through this grace they were called into the Communion of the Son of God.

Then comes the word of adjuration: he had heard that there was strife among them: "each of you says I am of Paul, or I am of Apollos, I am of Cephas; but I am of Christ! Is Christ divided? was Paul crucified for you? or were you baptised in the name of Paul?"[11] Again he interrupts his argument for one of those conversational asides which were so typical of his personal tone: but this done, he bursts into great paragraphs of superb style in which, now with poetical quotation, now with irony, but always with consistent art of arrangement, he develops his theme: he sought to show that his message was of a spiritual mystery so sublime as to surpass philosophy, so transcendent as to defy their standards.

The themes of mysticism arrest by paradox on paradox and culminate in that love which proved itself divine by giving its life for men. That was the message which in fear and trembling he had brought to Corinth as Christ crucified: that was the superb theme to which, even while disdaining eloquence and philosophy, he now returned in a passage as consummately literary as any in Plato or Demosthenes:—

"The word of the cross to those in the way of perdition is crudity: but to us in the way of salvation it is the power of God. And so it is written, 'I will destroy the philosophy of the philosophers, and bring to nothing the knowledge of the able.' Where is the philosopher? Where is the man of letters? Where is the scrutineer of this scale of existence? Has not God turned the world's philosophy into crudity? For when the world had failed by its philosophy to gain the knowledge of God in the philosophy of God, it pleased God by the crudity of our

announcement to save those who believe. For the Jews require a miracle for proof, and the Greeks seek for a philosophy: but we announce Christ crucified: to the Jews a scandal, to the Greeks crudity, but to those who are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God. For the crudity which had God behind it is wiser than the philosophy of men, and the weakness which had God behind it is stronger than the power of men.

"For regard your calling, brothers, that not many are in the human way philosophical, not many in position of influence, not many of high rank: but the crude things of the world God chose that He might humiliate the philosophers: and the weak things of the world God chose that He might bring down the strong things: and the things of low order, and the despised things, did God choose, and the things that have no being, that He might bring to nought the things that are, that no human nature should vaunt itself before the face of God. Yet of God you are, in Christ Jesus who became to us wisdom from God and rightness and hallowing and redemption; that, as it is written 'he that vaunteth, let him vaunt in the Lord'."[12]

This is a passage of consummate literary skill: "No Greek orator", said the German scholar, Blass, "would have regarded this passage with other feelings than those of the highest admiration".[13] Apart from style, historians might praise it for its acumen. For again and again in history, from the time of Moses to that of a Napoleon or a Hitler, the power of leadership has escaped from categories;[14] "the great gardener grafts the excellence on wildings where he will". This command of style is then a new thing which Paul owed not merely to practice and to training, but to a new realisation of what the Corinthians' taunts implied—and again to Ephesus itself.

For Ephesus was no unsophisticated place. The capital of Ionia had known the presence of many an Hellenic genius:

many masterpieces may have been echoed in the school where Paul now taught: for he left the synagogue to lecture in "the tyrant's school":[15] the class-room, perhaps, of an exacting master. He had also every opportunity to learn the arts of eloquence from the gifted Alexandrian who was now the ornament of the Ephesian Church. Whatever the reason, Paul now adds to his intensity of feeling the arts of a finished rhetorician, arts which he can drop as soon as he enters on the discussion of other and lower subjects, and which fall short of making his discourses into an ordered whole. It is in special passages that he becomes finished and august: and here, where he expounds the transcendence of the divine in relation to the human, he anticipates all that in later centuries the mystic called Denys the Areopagite, and a great line of contemporaries would write of the dazzling darkness of God, of the soul's pregnant silence, and of the night of the soul.

Never was the quality of Paul's mind more manifest than when after this superb passage, so well illustrating his eloquence, he says: "And when I came before you, brothers, I came not according to excellency of word, or of philosophy, proclaiming to you the mystery of God".[16] His claim on their attention was not the persuasiveness of a finished system of thought, like that of Plato or the Stoics, but the manifestation of the Spirit and of power.

"Wisdom, nevertheless," he continued, "we do speak among the perfect: wisdom not of this age, nor of the rulers of this age, for they will soon be nothing: but we speak in a mystery the secret wisdom which God preordained before the ages to be our splendour, which none of the rulers of this age knows; for had they known, they would not have crucified the Lord of Splendour: but, as it is written:

What eye saw not, nor ear heard,

Nor entered into the heart of man,
Such things did God prepare for them that love Him.[17]

6

Such secrets, mystical, interior, ineffable, transcendent — because they were the revelation of God's unique perfection— man had come to behold, and by beholding to share. This was the mystery of *grace* by which men lived not of themselves but by the Spirit which was Divine. "For the Spirit fathoms all things, even the depths of God. For who has known all that belongs to man except the spirit of man within him? And likewise none knew the things that belong to God except the Spirit of God. But we received not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is from God that we might know what is given us by grace from God. And this it is we speak, not in the words and teachings of human philosophy, but in the teachings of the Spirit, explaining the things of the Spirit to men of the Spirit. But the man who is living merely as a man does not receive the things which are *peculiar* to the Spirit of God. For they are crudity to him, and cannot be known, because they are received spiritually. But the man who is living with the grace of the Spirit sees deep into all these things, though no one sees deep into him. 'For who hath known the inner mind of the Lord that he should instruct Him?' But we have the mind of Christ."[18]

7

The writer went on to compare himself first to a sower of seed, then to an architect laying foundations. Another might

water where he had sown: another might build up walls on his foundation-stone: but the secret of the growth came from elsewhere, came from within. "God giveth the increase."[19]

"Do you not know that you are God's temple?" asked the Apostle, "and that you form a shrine where God's Spirit dwells within? If any man ruin the temple of God, God shall ruin him: for the temple of God is holy: and holy therefore you . . . both life and death, things present and things to come — all are yours — but you are Christ's and Christ is God's."[20]

While kindling from the light within him living phrases (each with its own flame to be a lantern on the paths of faith), Paul had been building up his case. His argument was that he and Apollos were delegates of a mystery which no mind could judge by human faculties; nor could Paul pass judgment on himself. His conscience was clear, but that did not mean that he was free from faults. "He that passes judgment on me is the Lord. So judge not before the proper time, until the Lord comes; for he will bring to light the things now hidden in darkness and disclose the counsels of the hearts, and then the praise shall come to each from God."[21]

What was the lot of the Apostles? They had to play the parts as in a theatre before the world and angels and men. They had to appear contemptible. "Still to this very hour", he cried, "we are hungry, we are thirsty, we are stripped naked, and scourged, we are homeless, and we toil, working with our own hands. Even though we endured patiently, even though we answered with consolations and encouragements: we are insulted, persecuted, calumniated, scoured out of the world, swept away like dirt."[22]

Ironical yet impassioned, the man made perfect through heroism pleads as a father with the children for whom he had obtained the gift of life but who had learnt so little.

He went on to speak of the case of incest at Corinth, pointing out the force of an example: taking an image he had used more than once, he demonstrated that a little yeast could make all the difference in a big lump of dough. Then the word yeast reminds him that before the Passover, the Jews ate bread without yeast, unleavened bread: and at once he soars again. "Christ our paschal lamb is sacrificed for us: therefore let us keep the feast; not with the old leaven, neither with the leaven of vice and wickedness, but with bread free from all leaven, the bread of sincerity and truth."[23]

The thought of the case of scandal led Paul on to discuss the morals of sex.

His point of view is that of the Church to-day. Marriage is lawful, and if people are married they must not pretend to avoid its sacramental fulfilment: for husband and wife have each a claim upon the other. For those that can attain it, celibacy, the unmarried life, is better: but in any case people must maintain the moral law, knowing that the body is sacred and must not be profaned. No sin, says St. Paul, does such intimate harm as sins of impurity: for the magnetism of love is the means by which we cleave to God and His laws. The body of the Christian is the temple of the Holy Spirit, and must not be profaned. He who believes must on the other hand use his body to glorify God.

Fully then the Apostle works out his teaching: God has given men their appointed place in his order: some slaves, some free, some circumcised, some uncircumcised: some in marriage, some in single life. What matters in each case is that they should fulfil the duties of their state. That there are in the single life special opportunities for freer devotion to God and His work is obvious: but there are also special temptations:

and each Christian must do as he is guided first by nature and common sense, then by his spiritual aptitudes; but people must remember that if they marry, they accept the obligations of a household which is apt to impede the spiritual life.

No teaching on this subject has ever been more definite or more reasonable, and it is a teaching which is accepted universally by those who want to live a moral life.[24]

9

Among the questions Paul had to discuss were, as we saw, some of much concern to that time, of little to this: such questions as meats coming from animals offered in sacrifice to the gods of Olympus, and the question whether or not women should wear the veil when in Church. For both he gives his judgment of common sense; yet he sees both in the light of principles: the first is that though what a man eats does not as such matter, yet it is most important to respect other people's scruples, and not to let them think that the worship of an imperfect religion does not matter:[25] on the second point, the oriental idea of a woman being veiled to show that she was not at the disposition of every man to look at her and desire her was sound also in Church.[26] Women, he thought, must show a certain modesty, duly considering their sex and function.[27] A woman appearing in public without a veil seemed to him as bad taste as one cutting her hair short: people must not forget the customs which marked the distinction of sex.

10

Another point he had to consider was his right to have contributions from his converts.[28] Could it be denied that he was

an Apostle: that he was free from man's authority: that he had seen Christ the Lord: that finally it was to him that the Christians at Corinth owed their conversion? He bursts with all the energy of his temperament into one of his great argumentative climaxes to establish his claim:—The sower sows to reap: the herdsman drinks of the milk of his herd: and when a preacher sowed the seed of divine things could he not claim the wherewithal for merely human needs? So the Lord had ordained: they that proclaimed the evangel should live from the evangel. "Muzzle not the ox," he quoted with a typical mixture of irony and humour, "Muzzle not the ox that turns the mill to grind the corn."[29] And yet he himself had not asked for money even to be maintained: he had first earned his living at Corinth, as, before he came there, he had done at Salonika. And not only earned his living but with ungrudging effort he had adapted himself to every kind of demand: "I am become all things to all men, that somehow I might save some, and for the evangel", he added, "I do all things that I may share in it with others".[30]

Then he suddenly thought of the athletes in the stadium, such as the Corinthians had often seen at the Isthmian games: all run in the race, Paul wrote, one wins: yet you must all run hard to get the prize. But every runner has to discipline himself in every way for his training: even to win a crown of pine. We, however, expect a crown unfading, "I run as one not uncertain of my goal: I box not as one striking at empty air: but I get in deft blows at my body, and treat it like a slave, lest having summoned others to the contest, I myself should lose my claim to honour".[31] The meaning is clear: but the connections and the metaphor have been forgotten. The man's mind was, again too swift for his meaning, too complex for finished points of expression.

In a short time he was back again on the question of food.

Again he repeats his rule: eat what you like as far as eating is concerned, but always consider whether you will shock people who do not quite understand. Even if it was not a question of committing a sin or breaking a law, one must be exceedingly circumspect among people who love to make a scandal.[32]

11

The next subject on which he had to give directions was the Eucharist. Already taking bread from their baskets, and wine brought up from the rich plain between Argos and Nauplia, he had offered them the mysterious ordinance which was the Communion of the Body and the Blood of Christ. This was the central mystery of Christian worship then—as it has been ever since: "*As often as you eat this bread, and drink this cup you shew the Lord's death till He come*".[33] How carefully therefore must all worshippers be prepared, with what reverence must they eat, lest their spirit should weaken and drop to sleep, lest, ignoring the power of a mystery which took its awfulness from the Crucifixion, they should even eat and drink their own condemnation![34]

For this was no mere symbol. In this sacrament, the sign is identified with what it signified. And what was signified here? The presence, the majesty, the judgment of the Figure who had arrested him before Damascus. "The chalice of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the Blood of Christ?"[35]

From those tremendous words about the Eucharist, Paul proceeds to his great doctrine of the Church: for this too is a great mystery: it, too, shows the Divine Presence. The Church is the Body of Christ: as in a body each organ and limb has its part, so in the Church each member has a special gift: some

for one thing, some for another. "Be intensely eager for the best gifts: and now by the supreme standard I shall show you the way."[36]

12

The passage which follows is the most famous and the most admired which Paul ever wrote. Almost—but not entirely—faultless from the point of view of style, it is arranged with patterned skill of the highest order, and illumined with a profound insight into not only love but beauty. It is a hymn in honour of that virtue or power which in the glow and enlargement of the heart comprehends ideal passion, warm affection, and sacrifice of self for others. It tells of the means by which we find our good in that of another. It directs that elevated and hallowed affection which by its magnetism moves the depths of man's being with desire to consummate in joy a creative union in every exercise of noble end. In all its blessedness, it is love.[37]

By the standard of excellence it is the way, as it is the picture, of Christ; and since Paul was the imitator of Christ, it is the picture of him also as he, soaring up towards his ideal, is hallowed by grace into perfection. For how could he know these things unless he had received them in receiving the spirit of Christ and of glory? And how could he have spoken of this secret unless it was one that a taste for beauty in its perfection would draw the chosen to understand?[38]

Let us then first read this famous passage in relation to Corinth, to its taste for ecstatic utterances, to its pride in a gnosis,[39] or esoteric knowledge, and its delight in powerful preaching; let us follow the Greek composition as closely as we can:—

If I speak in the ecstatic utterance of men, and of angels,
Yet have not love, I become like metal reverberant or cymbal tinkling,
And if I have eloquence and know all the mysteries and all the inner knowledge,
And if I have all faith so as to move the very mountains,
Yet have not true love, I am nothing.
And if I divide out in morsels all things that belong to me,
And if I give over my body that I be burnt,
Yet have not true love: nothing do I earn nor gain.

Love is long to last: good and kind is love,
Not jealous is love: it vaunts not itself; love swells not up:
It does not offend in manners: it seeks not the things of self:
It is not provoked to sharpness: it bears no malice:
It has no joy in wrong: but it takes a friend's joy in the truth.
Over all things it throws its covering: it believes all; it hopes all, in all it perseveres.

True love never falls away.
If there are speeches of divine eloquence, they shall be brought to an end,
If utterances of ecstasy, they shall grow silent,
If an esoteric knowledge, it too shall be brought to an end.
For in part we have the inner knowledge, and in part we speak our eloquence;
But when comes the completion, the part comes to an end.

When I was a child, I spoke as a child,
I thought as a child, I discoursed as a child,
When I became a man, I had done with the ways of
a child,
For we see now in a glass dimly: but then face to
face.
Now I know in part, then I shall know even as also
I am known,
And now abide faith, hope, true love, these three,
But the greatest of these is love.

13

This passage is arranged in three distinct "strophes", the first pointing over religious exaltation and learning to the excellence of love, the second depicting its character, the third its excellence above its divine sisters of faith and hope, for their lights shall be merged in this final refulgence: as Shakespeare tersely wrote long after: "Love's not time's fool".[40]

So much for the meaning in English: but one Greek word after another has such reach and elasticity of meaning that words are taken to convey a reach of significance quite new to them. "The wisdom of the great Paul", said St. Gregory of Nyssa, "could arbitrarily employ words for the intention in view, and to suit his peculiar train of thought. By the force of his expressions, he could turn words from their established use, and employ them for other purposes."[41] So vast an effect could not be conveyed by a style perfectly polished: the jagged mountain and the trackless valley are sublimer than the pathway, the lush pasture, and the level highroad.

There is, for example, one word which is repeated three times: to be done away. Renan thinks this a fault of style, but Johann Weiss sees it as a clever means of echoing and binding

together different conceptions.[42] On this point, two opinions are possible; but no one can fail to observe in the Greek the extremely subtle arrangement of consonants and sounds, like those of an excellent musical composition. The passage is the more extraordinary in balanced echoes and cadences because the word *agape* is not in itself musical: the effect must be achieved by the choice and composition of other words: and the echoing is superb.

The result defies analysis: it melts the particular meaning of words in a general impression which exalts and transforms our sense of each in the music and interweaving of the whole. The pattern of sound connects one suggestion with another and takes us from strength to strength. Finally, we understand only in so far as, foregoing criticism, we yield and we admire.

"What passes our thought", said Longinus, "wins our wonder."[43] Vanquished by so pure a goodness, we may well turn back to a translation which has played a leading part in the history of English literature to soar in the music of pure cadences and learn once more how beautiful words are the very light of the mind.

Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, writing as an authority in Greek literature, assessed Paul's writing as a classic of Hellenism because in a time when conventional forms and beauty of style led to commonplaces, there was something refreshing in the very lack of finish which never prevented him from giving an adequate expression to the force and meaning of his thoughts and ideas.[44]

Such a brilliance of success does not necessarily mean that Paul was at the time employing the general devices of rhetoric consciously. His eloquence, thinks St. Augustine, was spontaneous.[45] He was, wrote Lagrange, "too much the Apostle to seek the charm of style, but also too much of the Apostle to forego the opportunity of preciser expression offered him by

his imagination, and his knowledge of the finer shades of things. The idea that, like a trained rhetorician, he persistently searched for suitable figures of speech, or poetic lines of phrase, or followed rhythm for its own sake is belied by every chapter he wrote, and is indeed far from the impetuous eagerness of his speech."[46]

Though consciousness may polish, the highest triumphs of words come from the depths and height of a man's mystery. It is by no means impossible that, having studied in youth till his taste was cultivated, he revived his interest when he came in touch with the schools of Ephesus, with the finished eloquence of Apollos. The fact remains that if we date *Philippians* from this period, and if both *Galatians* and *Thessalonians* preceded it, we can trace from the beginning of *Philippians* a definite elaboration of balanced style which is from time to time worked out to elaborate effect in the succeeding epistles.[47]

14

No sooner had Paul inserted into his epistle the immortal encomium of love, than he turned back to the questions out of which it had arisen, the question first of lofty eloquence, and second of unintelligible ecstasy. It is with the second of these that he is now occupied.

None, wrote St. Paul, had more of this gift than he himself had. With him the electrical stimulus of vibrant spiritual experiences was particularly strong: and naturally he was familiar with it in others. This gift might build up a man's own spiritual life: but it was not difficult to have too much of it. How far did it help other people? If the notes of a musical instrument are indistinct, who can fit them to a tune? If the trumpet gives an uncertain sound, who will prepare himself for battle?[48]

Therefore a man who has this ecstatic utterance should also pray to interpret it. Suppose you are blessing God in ecstasy, how is another, who can have no idea of what you mean, to get any good of it? Better to say five words intelligibly to others than to utter thousands of meaningless sounds. A good sermon awakens another man's conscience and shows him the power of grace. Strive then after a mighty eloquence: certainly, if a man utters ecstasies, do not silence him. But in your worship, look for order as well as for what satisfies individuals.[49]

15

Before he terminates St. Paul considers it essential to remind the Corinthians of his *central* argument, the Resurrection. He insists on the evidence for it: first in the prophecies of the Old Testament: secondly in Christ's various appearances, now to Peter alone, now to many, and finally to Paul himself.

This appearance to Paul invites him into one of his typical digressions. Christ had appeared to him as to an abortion—an abortion, or to put it more gently, to him who among the Apostles was least, because he had persecuted the Church of God. "But by the grace of God I am what I am, and His grace towards me did not become vain, but I toiled more abundantly than they all: (and yet it was not I but the grace of God within me). Whether I or they, however, toiled more, so we proclaimed to you the Resurrection, and so you accepted and believed it."[50]

After this digression, Paul launched himself with strong logic into a further argument:—"How do some of you say there is no resurrection of the dead? If there is no resurrection for any, then Christ is not risen: and if Christ is not risen, vain is what we proclaim and vain too your faith."[51] The mes-

sengers would in other words be impostors from beginning to end: for how could they swear that God had raised Christ, if He had done nothing of the sort? And yet, he asked once again, "if no dead man could rise again, how could Christ rise again? But now, consider it the other way, if Christ was not raised, then your faith is a delusion: you have not risen with Him from your sins. And the dead too have no hope."[52] The whole scheme of salvation breaks down. No plan could be so cynical: none occasion such dismay as to hope in Christ, finding life with its significance and splendour enhanced, if after all we are to lose it for ever in the grave.

The logic of the position had been put ruthlessly.[53] If no man could rise again, death sounds as the trumpet note of despair: and the Christians were promulgating a huge delusion: but if their evidence was true, Christ's resurrection *is* a beacon and a promise for all who live in Him.

At this point the energy of dialectic gives way to a freshet of eloquence so brimming with inspired conviction that it floods persuasion:

> Christ has been raised from the dead,
> The first fruits of those who have fallen asleep,
> For since by man came death,
> By man came also the resurrection of the dead.
> For as in Adam all die
> So also in Christ shall all be made alive,
> But each in his own order,
> The first fruits Christ,
> Afterwards they that are Christ's in His arrival.
> Then shall be the end,
> When He shall give up the kingdom to God who is also the Father,
> When He shall have brought to an end all rule and authority and power,

For He must reign till He has put all his enemies
under His feet . . . .
But when He said that all things were put in order
under Him,
Manifestly He who put them so excluded Himself.
So when all things have been set in order under
the Son,
Then the Son Himself shall put Himself in order
under Him who put all things in order under
the Son,
That God may be all in all.[54]

Argument had been suspended while the vision of faith spoke certainties in great harmonies of phrase, poetically arranged like the inspired Scriptures he knew, and in reach and manner not less sublime. Then once again the visionary flow was interrupted. His thoughts rest for a rapid moment on a current custom of baptism for the sake of the dead: and then he thinks of his own dangers at Ephesus: "I am in peril from hour to hour: from day to day I face death: if here in Ephesus I had to face wild beasts in the arena, why should I do it unless I rise again? If the dead do not rise, we might well say: let us eat and drink for to-morrow we die."[55]

"Make no mistake," he went on, implying that such views are only too plausible, "fair characters are marred by foul companionships: waken to the effort of an upright life: avoid your sins: for some of you have no idea what such a word as God means, and—I speak frankly—you should be ashamed of yourselves."[56] He meant that instead of striving to gain their reward in the life after the grave, they were living each a life as self-indulgent as if after death there was no reward for either good or evil.

After this characteristic combination of confession with reproach, his hurrying thoughts lose all sequence of style: it

had been for a time only the rush of feeling that had pushed the words together. But now he rises once again in sublime and ordered eloquence to another of those illumined declarations in which faith showed the substance of things hoped for. Some, he said, will ask what is the meaning of a risen body? Why, he answered, any man must know that a seed must be sown before it can germinate—and what you sow is not the form the growth will take; but just a bare grain, wheat perhaps or one of the other grains. But God gives the growth the form He wills, and to each seed its appropriate growth. And as there is a difference in plants, so there are differences in the animal world.[57] But at this point he leaves the illustration of seeds and breeds:

All flesh is not the same flesh
But there is one flesh of men,
Another flesh of beasts,
Another of fishes,
Another of birds,
And bodies celestial and bodies terrestrial,
But the splendour of the celestial is one
While the splendour of the terrestrial is another.
There is the splendour of the sun,
And another splendour of the moon,
And another splendour of the stars,
For star from star differs in splendour.
So also is the resurrection of the dead:
It is sown in corruption,
It is raised in incorruption;
It is sown in indignity,
It is raised in splendour.
It is sown in weakness: it is raised in strength.
It is sown a body of a merely natural order,
It is raised a body of an order one with the Spirit of God.

For as surely as there is a body of a merely natural order
So surely is there a body of one order with the Spirit of God.
For thus it is written: the first Adam became a soul enjoying a natural life,
The second Adam however is a Divine Spirit which irradiates life.
Clearly the first in order is not the divinely spiritual,
But first the natural life, and then the divinely spiritual.
The first man is from the earth, an earthly being—
The second man is from heaven.
As the earthly man was, so are all earthly men,
And as the heavenly man is, so are they that are heavenly,
And as we have borne the image of the earthly,
So also we shall bear the image of the heavenly.
This I say, my brothers,
That flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God,
Nor can corruption inherit incorruption.
Behold, I tell you a mystery:
We shall not all sleep
But we shall all be changed.
In a moment,
In the twinkling of an eye,
At the last trumpet sound.
For the trumpet shall sound,
And the dead will be raised incorruptible,
And we shall be changed.
For this corruptible must put on incorruption,
And this mortal shall have put on immortality.
Then shall come to pass the saying that is written,
Death is swallowed up in victory.

Where, O death, is thy victory?
Where, O death, is thy sting?
The sting of death is sin:
The power of sin is the law:
But thanks be to God who giveth us the victory,
Through our Lord Jesus Christ.[58]

If the Resurrection of the Body appears incredible, says St. Augustine, it is because "he looks simply to what the flesh is at present, while he fails to consider what it shall be hereafter. For at that time of angelic change, it will no more be flesh and blood, but only body . . . . In the case of celestial bodies there is no flesh, but only those simple and lucent bodies which Paul calls spiritual, and others, ethereal . . . . Philosophers who assert that no terrene body can possibly exist in heaven, yet concede that any kind of body may be converted and changed into any other kind of body."[59]

The great pæan had reached its climax: "As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive".[60] That was the keynote of it all. In lofty similitudes, acceptable to reason, Paul has stated his belief in the glorified body of Christ as the model and the power of what man may hope to be.

It is not, however, with this flight of soaring inspiration that this letter ends. He speaks again of collections, of plans, of individual friends. He takes up his pen to write the accustomed greeting: it ends with the touching words: "My love be with you all in Christ Jesus."[61]

16

Here then was a masterpiece to win the most recalcitrant. It has opened the gate of heaven to centuries of mourners: its triumphant hymn of love tells the ages how good and perfect

SAINTS PETER AND PAUL
From a painting by El Greco at Barcelona

a thing it is when we love one another with a pure heart fervently. In it the renown of a writer was established for ages.

But it did not win back to Paul the allegiance of his converts at Corinth. He hurried over there to reinforce its literary splendour with words from his own lips. But he was most coldly received. Virulent enemies flung in his face the boast that they had learnt a better Christianity than his. Contemptuous words were spoken both about his appearance and his way of speaking. Envoys from Jerusalem had undermined his power over his own, bringing against him the charge of being an impostor. What right had he to call himself an Apostle when all he knew of the Messiah was a vision known to none but himself?

Other charges were made: that he came to take their money: that he was a speaker far beneath Apollos: that he lacked the ability to teach the exact truth, and the power to call his hearers to the trance of ecstasy. An *Apostle* was surely something more than this: and the new-comers claimed to having behind them "the super eminent apostles": of the Rock, of James and John who spoke with eloquent authority. The Church of Corinth, already divided, was more divided than ever. They accused him of being crafty and of twisting the prophets to suit his own purposes. Paul was overpowered by the new excitement and returned from Corinth as miserable as after his sermon at Athens, he had gone onwards to preach nothing but the Cross.

And in Ephesus itself how arduously he lived. He toiled with his own hands to support not only himself but others. Night and day he worked among his converts with a sympathy and fervour that brought tears into his eyes. Walking from house to house in heat and bad weather, through the Agora, at the wharf, at the open theatre, among the hovels of the poor, on the heights of Pion and Koressos, there passed this bald and bow-legged Jew with his sweet expression, his perfect understanding, his alternation of tact and urgency, his well of

tears and joy. And still the Jews tried to capture him. Yet, whatever his jeopardy, he equalled it with courage; whatever his toil, it could not exhaust him. And he had his reward, for from many a quarter he heard of men and women coming to the Christ and being baptised into His Church.

Yet even his success added to his anxiety.

XVI

FROM EXTREME TO EXTREME

1

IN THE SPRING MONTHS, HOWEVER, PILGRIMS CAME FROM ALL over Asia to the Artemision, the feast which was dedicated to Artemis, to her temple, and to her shrine. But the worship of Artemis was not the only reason why they flocked thither. While the devotees gathered at the shrine, traffickers exchanged their merchandise, the younger men gave themselves up to sport in the stadium and the arena. So great was the concourse that it and its ceremonies were ruled by certain local officials, the Asiarchs, who supervised the cult of the Emperor: and these had soon to fulfil their responsibilities: for the silversmiths noticed among the crowds that many not only refused their mementos, but even scorned them.

One of the silversmiths, a certain Demetrios—already annoyed, doubtless, by the demeanour of the converts—decided to take a stand. He called together the members of his craft. There was no need to remind them that to it they owed a lucrative living: "You can see for yourselves," he said, "you can hear from plenty of others that not only here in Ephesus, but through the whole province of Asia, this man called Paul argues and converts a lot of people. He says that those are not gods which are made with hands. Now there is a danger not only of our craft getting a bad name, but of even the temple of Artemis, of our great goddess, being counted as nothing: of her being deposed from her magnificence, her whom all Asia worships, and practically everywhere in the world."[1]

The furies of fanaticism, of local pride and of business

interests mingled in an outbreak of indignation from an excited crowd; they repeated the cry which had so often turned a vast concourse to uproar: "Great is Artemis of the Ephesians".[2] It did not fail to produce the accustomed frenzy; a frenzy which Demetrios and his gang soon turned to their purpose. They hunted for Paul: but while he was kept hidden, two of his travelling companions were found. These, Aristarchos and Gaius, were dragged off, not to the stadium but to the terraced theatre built into the side of a hill; their life was in deadly danger, and Paul in his valour, argued vehemently with the friends hiding and protecting him that he must himself address the crowd. Both the Roman officials and his own converts, however, urged him not to go out.

Meanwhile the streets had filled, and in the movement of excitement, men crowded to the open-air theatre where a single speaker could address some twenty thousand spectators: the crowd rushed there, too excited with the movement to know what it was all about. The Jews were terrified: they pushed forward one of their men to make a defence. But the excited crowd had no wish to listen to a Jew: the answer was to shout him down, and again they raised their voices in the familiar shout: "*Great is Artemis!*"[3]

The officials were growing nervous. Neither Asiarchs nor Romans ever liked to see the crowd get out of hand: they put forward the Recorder of the City who made an adroit speech: who, he asked, could question the privileges of Ephesus in relation to Artemis, and her image? They were in no danger. "You ought to be quiet", he said, "and do nothing rash. Here they have brought men who have never attacked Artemis or despoiled her temple. What has Demetrios to complain of? If any has a complaint, the assizes are held from time to time, and there are Roman proconsuls to preside at them. Let those that wish make their accusations, and plead their cases. If any

has other enquiries to prosecute, let it be done in the regular way. Couldn't you see that such a noisy demonstration might easily produce a punishment from the Roman authorities, especially if no one could bring forward a reason for it?"[4] So adroitly able a speaker won the ears of the crowd, and induced it to disband.

The natural course for the officials to take after this was to tell Paul that since they had saved his life, he must put them to no further inconvenience. He could not but agree. He had been in despair of life: he had been weighed down beyond his endurance. If he had asked whether he could possibly escape, his heart would have answered the question with death, but for the mysterious assurance of his faith that God would deliver him. Soon afterwards he made his departure for the North, secretly no doubt, as he had made it from Damascus in that basket he vividly remembered from so many years ago. Many have suggested that he first escaped with Trophimos to Miletos, only to find that Trophimos fell ill there. Once again he was greatly perturbed. Disappointed, wearied, disgusted, doubtful of his Corinthians, doubtful of his Galatians, doubtful whom he should endanger by his presence, he wondered if the whole world had not turned against him.[5]

2

A great door of opportunity had been opened in Asia Minor: the Churches had been founded: the Jews had been countered. He had been able to continue his preaching and to make converts. Yet now, once more, the whole movement in Asia Minor was in peril. But where could his eye turn? Everywhere there was trouble from the orthodox Jews. He had been hounded out of Salonika and Verria: he had found fierce hostility at Corinth:

unless he could send back his contribution to Jerusalem, his prestige would vanish there also. His friends had been placed in jeopardy on his account: and he had been in danger of a fearful death, of being torn limb from limb as by a devouring lion. Hope vanished. Nerves and courage were exhausted. Once again he was a disguised fugitive. But he dared not delay. Finding a place in a boat for Troas, he hoped that Titus would bring better news from Corinth and that he might yet again find an opportunity to spread his blessed message.[6] But no Titus came. His mind was in torment. "I found no relief for my spirits", he wrote, "because I found not Titus my brother."[7] His mind turned back towards what he had suffered in Corinth. "With many tears, in affliction and anguish of heart,"[8] those are his very words, he wrote to the Corinthians a third time, and in this letter he opened out the story of his heroism and his anguish, but his anxiety still pressed hard: What was he to do? Where could he go?

At last he found a means to pass over again to Macedonia. But where he went none dared to say, and to this very day, therefore, his movements at that time remain a mystery.

He moved from danger to danger: his nerves could not recover under the constant menace of attack. He felt extremely lonely. He wanted Timotheos to join him and bring back the books he needed. Without, he said, were fightings, within were fears. Even with his dear Philippians, he could find little rest. But at last Titus did arrive from Corinth, and the news he brought was encouraging: Paul's last letter had not failed in its effect, and to add to his consolation, Timotheos came from Ephesus.

3

Yet a fourth time he addressed himself to Corinth for a personal apologia, and this, beginning on the notes of consolation

in affliction, became a pæan of his adventures on the recurring themes of danger and glory. "Thanks be to God who leads us as bearers of censers in a triumphal procession in Christ and through us in every place pours forth the incense of His knowledge. For we are the aroma of Christ in God."[9] And like a voice in that triumph he gives his message: "as from God, in the very sight of God, in Christ, we speak."[10]

Was he once again advertising himself? Did he need letters of recommendation to them, or from them? Ah no—not for *them!* "*You* are our letter, written in your hearts, a letter known and read by all men, for you are clearly a letter of Christ, written by us as His secretary, written not in ink but in the Spirit of the living God, not on tablets of stone but on the tablets of the hearts of flesh."[11] And it was not the literary form that mattered, but the intention and inspiration. The letter kills: but the spirit instils life. When Moses, receiving the commandments on tablets of stone on Sinai, came down to tell the revelation of a law that threatened death, he was yet transfigured by his splendour. With how much greater glory comes the revelation of the Spirit! Indeed, the law which once had splendour has come to have no splendour, in view of the new splendour surpassing it. When the law of Moses was read, a veil lay upon the hearer's heart; but when a man turns to the Lord, the veil is lifted at every corner.[12] "For that Lord to whom he turns is the Spirit; where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom. But we all with unveiled face beholding the glory of the Lord are transformed from glory to glory into the same image, as by the Lord the Spirit."[13]

He had seen the veil lifted: he had seen the dawning of the evangel of the glory of the Christ who is the image of God. Light, he had said, "shall shine out of darkness and shine in our hearts as the sunrise of the knowledge of God",[14] the sense

or vision of the presence and the commandment of Christ. On the one side, then, every sign of weakness and contrariety: on the other side the sustaining splendour. And so there comes the paradox of the mystical life: "In our battles we suffer heavily but are never utterly defeated: often hard pressed yet never driven to surrender: in desperate plight but not in despair: chased from the field, yet not left to the mercy of the foe; beaten to the earth, but not killed outright."[15]

4

Every day he was in danger of being done to death as Jesus had been done to death. Yet always by his escapes and deliverances, as by his courage and faith, he proved that Jesus was alive within him; his sacrifices and perils were wearing out the outer man only that in his spirit Christ should reign, and the Church should live.

"I believe and therefore did I speak."[16] Taking up this verse from a psalm, Paul applied it to his trust and confidence that the final victory was sure. "He who raised the Lord Jesus from the grave will, in the power of that Resurrection, raise us up also, and will bring us into His presence side by side with you."[17] All his sufferings helped to spread the power of grace till both from him and from his converts there poured high tides of thanksgiving and of adoration to the glory of God! "Therefore, do not lose heart; I may be worn out; but, inwardly, I am being made new from day to day. I mean to say that the light affliction we are actually enduring is working out for us from excess to excess an everlasting weight and abundance of glory—for my eyes are open not to things seen but to things unseen: for the things that are seen are those of time, but the things unseen are those eternal."[18] By the ever-

increasing power of his will and his soul this mystic was moving deeper and deeper into the secret and majesty of God.

We know, he continued, that what we dwell in here on earth is, as it were, a tent. He thought of life on earth as a Bedouin might think of his encampment in a desert: but when the tents are struck for the last time, it is because men have come back to the solid buildings of their homes. And so when the tent-like body is discarded, it is for a house not made by hands, but from God—a house eternal in the heavens.[19] And we long for it, as in the heat and in the cold of a tent in the Levant one longs for solid roof and walls. Then he added, with one of his characteristic turns in which the freshets of wit and mysticism combined, "when we are clothed with that, we shall not be discovered naked."[20]

By the time Paul wrote this he was again near those simple men of Salonika who had pressed him so hard on the subject of the future and the judgment: he therefore insists that what matters is that—whether in the body or out of it—we should be found pleasing to God.

What, they had asked, was his motive power? The power that moved Paul was Christ's love for men acting within him.[21] The Christ had died for all not that all in Him should die for Him but that those who lived should live for Him who for their sakes died to rise again. "If a man is in Christ, he is a new creature. The olden things have passed away, look, they are all made new."[22]

5

At this point in the letter, a novel word is introduced, the word 'exchange'; it could be applied particularly to that change from bad terms to good terms which we know as reconcilia-

tion.[23] Through Christ God had taken Paul to Himself as good money; and then made him His servant to bring good exchange —but a majestic sort of servant, an envoy, an ambassador— bearing great letters from a King, the very King of Heaven:[24] "We therefore beseech you, as though God were entreating you," he pleaded, "for the sake of Christ be reconciled to God: let Him accept you as good coinage."[25] Then Paul uses one of his boldest expressions: "Him who knew no sin He made sin for our sakes that we should become the righteousness of God by being merged in Him."[26] "Co-operating we also beseech you not to receive the grace of God in vain."[27] The meaning is plain. Christ as a personage of infinite power can give of that infinity to make right in the eyes of God those who, through grace, live in Him. "He was made man", said Athanasius, "that we might be made gods."[28] "He chose the Incarnation", says Abelard, "as the most effectual appeal to the love of those whom He had made." At the same time, as Anselm showed in *Cur Deus Homo*, the law of the universe was vindicated when suffering was accepted to save others, and the blood of life poured out that they might live. But whether Paul implied so much is not certain: what he here wrote was: *God was in Christ reconciling the World unto Himself.*[29]

6

With echoes from the Psalms, his favourites, Paul now bursts again into rhythmic speech on one of those paradoxes of the Christian life on which he had lately been writing. The Apostles were, he said, giving no offence to anyone lest the ministry should be blamed for it, but in every particular combining to prove themselves as ministers of God.[30]

In manifold endurance, in afflictions, in hard necessities, in need, in straits,
In scourgings, in arrests, in riots,
In sleepless nights, in spells of hunger, in pureness of life, in inner knowledge,
In patience, in kindliness,
In the spirit of holiness, in love unfeigned,
In the word of truth, in the power of God,
By the weapons of right living for the right hand and for the left,
Amid glory and contempt,
Amid bad names and good names,
As impostors and truthful,
As unknown and famous,
As dying and see! we live,
As chastened and not done to death,
As steeped in adversity yet always rejoicing,
As poor men yet making many rich,
As having nothing, yet possessing all things.[31]

So did he hymn once more the story of adventure, danger, hope and consolation which was his own biography and a picture of the experiences of those who through the ages live like him in Christ. They see life in two scales of value, those of the world and those of grace.

Nor can the style of this passage be ignored. The stream which in the first enumeration of trials had begun to swell reaches its full volume and flows on in more stately clauses.[32] St. Paul had seen what St. Chrysostom was to call a snowstorm of afflictions; but he looked from these to the clear noonday of his triumph.

7

He had to warn the Corinthians about living on easy terms

with those who still worshipped the Olympians. What partnership, he asked, can right living have with lawlessness? How can light associate with darkness? What concord can there be between Christ and Belial? What portion can a believer have with an unbeliever? What agreement can the sanctuary of God have with idols?[33] "For we are the temples of the living God. . . . My dear ones, let us purify ourselves from all that can defile flesh or spirit, bringing our holiness to perfection in reverence for God."[34]

This warning breaks in on an appeal for a return of the generous confidence Paul himself had given: "My heart is open wide to you: open yours wide to me. As one might say to children, that is a fair bargain. I have not wronged anyone, nor ruined anyone, nor cheated anyone. I do not speak to say anything against you: I said to you before that you are in my heart to stay with me through death and stay with me through life. Full is my trust in you: high is my vaunt of you. My heart brims with consolation, I overflow with joy in the midst of all my torments."[35]

We have seen what those were: the back-biting, the open mockery, the gibes and taunts, the treachery, the danger, the hardships, the hunger, the thirst, the weariness, the exhaustion, the recurrent harrying and persecution, the hunting from place to place, the toil and peril of the sea, the incessant disappointment brought on by unworthy converts and their controversies, their fickleness, their scandals, and the toil and moil of their lives.

But always in Paul's mind there was another anxiety. There were the Jews at Jerusalem, and their need of subscriptions; only by that could he count on their not trying to turn the nations out of the Church.[36] Besides, he continued—taking up the argument of his earlier letter—if the nations made a return of this world's goods to those from whom had come the good

of heavenly things, was not this, firstly, reasonable; and, secondly, a proof of the unity of all in Christ, who had become poor that men might be rich? Generosity in giving not merely supplies a need: it calls forth thanksgiving to God. And in this spirit of gratitude, those who receive help would praise Him that the Corinthians had adhered to their Messiah: besides, they would make intercession for the Corinthians, thanking God for the overflowing grace manifested in their generosity. In the Church all would be one, and this unity was a gift unspeakable.

8

So did the faith and charity of the Apostle raise into the romance of grace his business of collecting money for the doubters at Jerusalem.

Twice already he had spoken of the drama and paradox of his life: but not yet was the vindication complete. Charitable, forgiving, generous, encouraging, at times almost enthusiastic, he yet felt he must deal once more, and more completely, with the accusations which his enemies at Corinth had brought against him.

He insisted therefore that the weapons of his warfare were not simply those of human nature, for his own nature might in itself be weak: his weapons, however, had the strength of dynamite. They could crash every stronghold; they could cast down the loftiest turret of proud argument or calculation standing in defiance against that inner knowledge which God gives to His own, bringing every device of the mind into captivity to make it obedient to Christ.[37]

At this point, the letter proceeds to an impassioned vindication of Paul's own career: and it leads up to one of his most memorable passages.[38]

"Not he that commendeth himself is approved, but he whom the Lord commendeth," wrote Paul.[39] That was plain truth both in the judgment of the world and in the demeanour of the Christian: any kind of self-praise, any kind even of excuse, very generally has the effect of not increasing but lessening confidence; and yet might he not defend himself against his enemies? Surely those who owed the faith to him, those who were in themselves his very letter of recommendation, his letter written in their hearts not in ink but by the Spirit of God, would understand that it was not for selfish reasons but for those of grace that he wished to vindicate himself. "Do you put up with me," he pleaded. "I am jealous for you with the jealousy of God, for to the Christ I betrothed you as a pure bride to her one husband: but I am afraid lest, as the serpent beguiled Eve with his knavery, your thoughts should be led astray from that simplicity and purity which lead to Christ.

"For if he who comes proclaims another Jesus whom we did not proclaim, or you receive another Spirit which you did not receive, or another evangel which you did not accept, you put up with that finely. For I count I am in no way behind these excessively precious Apostles. If also I was unskilled in my way of speaking I was not so in the inner knowledge, but in every point for every man I made things clear for you within."[40]

And was it a matter of offence that to save them making contributions, he either earned his living as a craftsman, or lived on a subscription sent from Philippi? It had been his rule, and it always would be, never to ask money for himself from his converts: but the time had come when he would tell his own story, even if it did sound like commending himself. "For with

pleasure you put up with senseless men, being so sensible yourselves: you put up with it, if anyone enslaves you, if anyone preys on you, if he entraps you, if he gives himself airs, if he gives you a slap in the face. It may be a disgraceful confession to make, that in those matters I behaved ineffectively. But if any is courageous, speaking as a fool, I am courageous too.

Are they Hebrews? so am I.
Are they Israelites? so am I.
Are they seed of Abraham? so am I.
Are they servants of Christ? (Speaking like a madman) I more.

In labours more abundantly, in scourgings more abundantly:
In imprisonment beyond comparison, in perils of death again and again.

From the Jews five times I received the forty lashes less one.

Thrice I was beaten with the lictor's rods, once I was stoned,
Thrice I was shipwrecked, a night and a day I was in the open sea.

In journeyings again and again.
In perils of rivers, in perils of robbers,
In perils from my own race, in perils from other nations,
In perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness,
In perils on the sea, in perils among false brothers,
In toil and travail often, in nights without sleep.
In hunger and thirst, in fasts often,
In cold and nakedness.

Beside the things which happen fortuitously
There is a thing that grips me every day—
Solicitude for the Churches.

Who is weak and I am not weak?
What brother stumbles, and I burn not with his shame?

If one must vaunt oneself, I shall vaunt myself in the things of my weakness,
The God and Father of the Lord Jesus, who is blessed for evermore, knows that I lie not.[41]

For a moment his great catalogue was halted by the reminiscence of being let down in a basket from a window in the wall of Damascus; and then his memory soared to his visions and his revelations, joining them with his own peculiar trials from within his own temperament and constitution: but the strength of Christ super-invested his weakness with power. And therefore he was well pleased with weakness, with insults, with dire needs, with persecution, with straits of all kinds, for the sake of Christ. For when he was weak, he said, then was he strong. "Christ was crucified because of His weakness, but He lives because of the power of God. And I", said Paul, "am weak in Him, but I shall live with Him because of the power of God, till it reaches to you: test yourselves to see whether you are living in faith, consider yourselves: or do you know yourselves so little as not to recognise that Christ is within you also?"[42]

The Lord had given Paul authority to build them up and not to cast them down. He insisted only that when he came away then he should praise them. His letter was finished. He himself took the pen to write from a full heart his closing words:

"Finally, brothers, rejoice. Be perfected, be encouraged, be of one mind, live in peace: and the God of love and peace shall

be with you. Greet one another with a holy kiss. All the saints send you greeting. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with you all. Amen."[43]

XVII

WHAT FAITH ACHIEVES

1

WE DO NOT KNOW THE PRECISE SPOT FROM WHICH THE MAN of genius painted this fadeless picture of his incomparable story. But none question that it was written in Macedonia—a province torn at times by the fierce Vardar winds, as his heart was swept by conflicts and emotions—but a province Greek in its combination of the stretching plain, the wild mountain and the indenting sea—a province which set Salonika as its capital in the quiet azure water of the long sun-swept gulf, shut in on the one side by the Chalcidic promontory and on the other by Mount Olympus, with the heights of Pelion and Ossa near at hand. Over the whole province the mighty mountain always towered, sublime in beauty, sublime in imaginative inspiration—the picture which, as we saw, Greek naïveté had taken as the throne of Zeus, and for which Paul might well quote from the Septuagint, "Thou shinest wondrously from the everlasting hills".

We do not know, we repeat, how far Paul had travelled along the Dalmatian coast in the hot summer days: but though he says nothing of it, we may again recall what it meant at that time to be in Macedonia and Hellas. We should remember the names of heroes, Philip, Alexander: we should remember the ceaseless preoccupation with sports and games of shapely athletes: remember also the background of Roman power, with its administration, its army, its reasonableness, its justice and its order.[1]

2

For it appears that Paul now came nearer to Rome than ever before. He said himself that he travelled from Jerusalem in a circle as far as Illyria.[2] We may take it to mean that travelling on from Macedonia by the Via Egnatia, he reached Durazzo; he went possibly up that Dalmatian coast which offers such beautiful views at Cattaro and Ragusa, and then making a round journey came on by the western coast of Greece to Corinth, stopping at Nicopolis for the earlier part of the winter, from which to sail in calm sea or travel by the coast till at a safe moment he reached Corinth. When he reached Illyria, he would serve a double purpose by not returning on his road: he would save his friends in Salonika from further embarrassment, and in new ground he could both more freely and more widely preach his glorious evangel. Here then we may suppose his journey to lead among the Western Isles of Greece and the mountains of Epirus in a wilder variety of the Hellenic scene, but on a shore which kept him always in closer touch with Rome. For thence sailed the ships from Corinth to Brindisi, and there was much traffic on that famous coast.

Many were the thoughts that filled his weeks at Nicopolis as he prepared to come once more to Corinth, to reconcile the Church there, to gather the collection, and to preach the mystery of the faith. And with so much on his mind, his nerves swayed to and fro between exaltation and weariness. He had never written comments on the scene before him, and we must not now expect him to tell us that he was passing along one of the finest seas in Europe: that to the South rose Erymanthos and the great Peloponnesian chain in the wild scenery which led down to Lacedaemon and Taygetos among the gathered hills and valleys: or that Alphaeus came down through its deep gorge to the grove and temples of Olympia, or that among

those bays was the gorge leading to Megaspelion. Nor even that fifteen hundred feet above the sheltered inlet at Itea, there was, in an air which Plutarch called "as close and fine as silk", the shrine of the Delphic Oracle on the cliff, and above it the Parnassus from which the poets of Greece drew their inspiration as they looked with naïve delight upon the Helicon as the home of Clio and Melpomene, and seven muses more. Yet all these things passed before him, brilliant in colour and magnificent in form, as he sailed on from Nicopolis to Corinth.

With him were two more learned adherents, Zenas, a lawyer, and Apollos, that great reader and expounder of books, to prime him afresh with the latest masterpieces of Alexandria and the Book of Wisdom which showed how much Hellas had refined the conceptions of the Jews;[3] in both he could see already with what lofty inspiration the piety of Israel exalted metaphysics into poetry.

3

When he arrived at Corinth, therefore, his mind was full of projects of more writing and of further travel. It was his way to think in provinces;[4] his aim to spread his Church as a new unit of the Roman Empire. Greece with all its glory was not enough. His mind was consumed with the traffic with Italy of which in his latest travels he had seen much: he must preach and deepen this life of grace in the Empire's capital: in central and imperial Rome. He felt that there was something peculiar about the Church there. "I long to see you," he wrote, "that I with you may be encouraged in joy, each of us by the other's faith, both yours and mine."[5] Again and again the purpose had haunted him. As a preparation for this, he began to prepare a profound treatise of theology.

He would set out in all its subtlety, a subtlety beyond that of

any Platonist or Stoic, the whole scheme he preached; the great alliance, as he had been persuading alike Jew and Greek, with Syrian, Galatian, Roman, Macedonian, in his travelling embassy of Christ. His evangel was the power of God for everyone to attain salvation who had the gift of faith: in it was revealed, from faith unto faith, a power of right living which came from God—certainly revealed to the Jews first, but by no means hidden from the Greeks.

Therefore he would establish the claims of God upon the whole race of men, for the truth had been dawning on them all. And he would describe the world as he saw it in the light of this dawn of truth illuminating the good life.

Everywhere he found men choosing as standard their own selfishness; though everywhere God had left the imprint of His majesty. Reason saw in the beauties of Nature the work of the Primal Artist; in the working of natural law an argument for a Primal Cause; and in the very constitution of man's nature there was something spiritual which, as it surveyed the splendour and beauty of the world, felt a mystical elation which raised the mind of man in love and worship, in gratitude and praise—but men, alas, rather than take the strenuous exercise of this communion, preferred the gratification of a corrupt worship, where festivals and excitement around favourite idols led to orgies and to vice.

To Paul it was no new theme. It was set out with fine poetic power in that Book of Wisdom which he and Apollos had studied together.

> By the greatness and goodness of the creatures
> Proportionably the maker of them is seen.
> Surely vain are all men by nature who are ignorant
> of God,
> And could not out of the good things that are seen
> know Him that is;

Neither by considering the works do they acknowledge the workmaster;
But deemed either fire, or wind, or the swift air,
Or the circle of the stars, or the violent water,
Or the lights of heaven to be the gods which govern the world.
With whose beauty, if they being delighted, took them to be gods:
Let them know how much better the Lord of them is:
For the first author of beauty hath created them.[6]

Paul, whose soul breathed poetry as its native air, condenses and paraphrases the verse from poetry to prose: but he follows the argument closely, and uses kindred words, though he never quotes directly. He had read that

The worshipping of idols not to be named
Is the beginning, the cause and the end of all evil.[7]

He had read a catalogue of vice in which were set down the results of idolatry: he paraphrases both the denunciation of idolatry, and the appalling record of the result.

No sooner had he set down this list of horrors than, realising the inevitable reaction of self-righteousness that they would occasion in Pharisees, and among Jews in general, he turns to make a sharp indictment of those that judge others while yet themselves deserving the severity of the Judge. God would send tribulation and anguish upon every soul that works evil, the Jew first and the others also. The Jews had their coded system, the others however had their consciences. Each must live by the highest standards he knows, in the light and truth of the Spirit. "For he is a Jew which is one inwardly, and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, not in the letter."[8] The word Judah

means praise,[9] and this praise comes not from men, but from God.

That everywhere was his doctrine. What is the use of being a Jew nominally, or nominally attached to any favoured company, even the Church? The whole question is not merely whether as a sincere penitent one trusts in God's loving forgiveness, as a good Jew would do, but whether one lives the life of the spirit, in sincerity and truth.

4

Writing to the Galatians, Paul had already set out his scheme of redemption. We do well to recall it. "The law was that nurse, guide and slave which led us to the school of Christ that we might learn the way of right living from faith. And since the faith has come we are no longer under the slave's tutorship. For you are all the sons of God through the faith in Jesus Christ. For as many as have been baptised into Christ have put on Christ."[10]

That was the simple way he had put it, as he thought of his difficulties with the Jews at Antioch, or the Jews who troubled his converts on the plateaux of Asia Minor. It is highly probable that before the Council at Jerusalem he had stated his case in a style both more conciliatory and more learned, and in doing so prepared the first draft of the Epistle now written.[11] Some years had gone by, and through them the problem had been re-arising. It had caused trouble wherever he went: it lay behind all the factions raised against him at Corinth: it was a question that he would naturally wish to settle before arriving at Rome: it was a subject which he would like profoundly to elucidate in a letter that might be read anywhere. So now in what we know as his third and fourth chapters, he deals with

the subtlest controversial difficulties of his recurring theme.

The first question, of course, was what was the good of being in the chosen race, if a non-Jew who believed were better than a Jew who did not believe? What in other words were the advantages of circumcision? Many, answered Paul, but for the time being he spoke of the promises or prophecies, which God *would* fulfil, no matter how unworthy certain Jews: for on the one side, His truth and justice are inviolate: on the other, all men have sinned; and men are never free from responsibility for what they do. How then are men to be set right? The Jewish Code, though it might point out where man has gone wrong, was not the *means* of perfect living. A new means must be found, therefore: it was found not in fulfilling the Jewish system, but through that gift of trust in Christ and that fidelity to Him which change the soul. In other words, a man is put right in the eyes of God neither by the works of the Torah, nor by God's loving forgiveness of a repentant sinner but by his faith.[12] Does that deprive the Jewish system of efficacy? On the contrary, it gives the very reason why it was established.

Paul argues, as he had argued in *Galatians*, that God's goodness was proved not so much by the Law of Moses as in His promises of mercy and of grace, given to all men—as they were given to Abraham—for and by *faith*. Abraham was endued with power in his faith, giving glory to God.[13] And, by the same generosity, we too shall be right in the sight of God, if we put our whole trust in Him who raised Jesus the Lord from the dead. Faith, as we saw, was an agreement of the mind which implied first trust and then fidelity; it was not a mere intellectual agreement: but a gift of personal inner affinity leading to a communion so full and so divine that its enthusiasm reached to the deeps of life and the soul.[14] It is a principle of knowledge that cannot be analysed by mere intelligence but is the secret, inexplicable, spontaneous adaptation of the mind

to the Eternal Word. It implied a deliberate choice of the will which in its turn was moved by the mystery of grace.

5

The theologian had now painted the shadows of his picture, the strict theory by which he related himself to the Jewish dispensation.

Set right in the eyes of God by faith, we have peace before God through our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom we have had our access by faith into the grace wherein we stand[15]—that summed it all. Now his theology rose to mysticism. "Let us triumph in the hope of the glory of God, and not only in that, but let us triumph also in our tribulations, for tribulation generates strength of character, and out of strength of character comes proof, and out of proof hope: and hope does not disappoint because the love of God is poured forth into our hearts, through the Holy Spirit which has been given us."[16] Here is one of the wide ranging phrases of his mysticism, a phrase that opens a panorama of the finest scenery of the country of the soul; a phrase which takes us to the heart of St. Paul and reveals the secret of his thinking. "The Spirit of Love dwells in our hearts, a flame that kindles us till we are radiant with the hope of glory."

The absolute certainty that God loved His chosen in the Church and made them one with the Church, made everything plain to Paul. Few care to die for others, even for a saint; Christ nevertheless had died for sinners, and not only died for them but taken them into Himself to share His life (the life signified always by the blood).[17] Set right in the eye of God by being in that life, that blood, we are saved by Him from wrath. Those who receive the abundance of the grace and of

the gift of rightness shall reign in life. This grace, this gift of rightness, is a gift to the believer; it is his life. It establishes his rightness: for grace reigns within him. Christ's death showed a reconciling love, while we were hostile. How then is man set right? By receiving in faith a share in the rightness of Christ. How much more are we saved in his *life,* in which we share: we are not only free from danger and from judgment but we may proclaim our triumph in God through whom we have received the reconciliation. One man, the type of what we were all to be, went astray, but if that weakness is general, how much more abundant, how excessively rich is the grace of the man who takes us into Himself that His grace may reign as King to lead us into eternal life through rightness of living —he is Jesus, our Messiah and our Lord. The justified—those who are set right—are those who are in Christ Jesus—His Spirit dwelling in them in His Church, which they love, trust and obey.

What then, we ask, is the rightness which is accorded to faith? Newman, in adroit answers which reconcile many controversies, answers that to be pronounced right is to be both forgiven and made new. Prophets and Apostles revel in it as the great gift of Divine Mercy, or the rich garment of salvation, as linen clean and white, as the enjewelled robe of righteousness, or, as it is elsewhere expressed, as "Christ in us" and "upon us" and around us; as if it were a light streaming from our heart, pervading the whole man, enwrapping and hiding the lineaments and members of our fallen nature, circling round us, and returning inward to the centre from which it issues. The Almighty Father, looking at us, sees not us but His sacred Presence, even His dearly beloved Son spiritually manifested in us, with His blood upon our door posts, in earnest of that final abolition of sin which is at length to be accomplished in us.[18]

To have God's loving forgiveness and to acquire merit in keeping the Torah was enough for a Jew; but Paul asked for more. Are you, or are you not, *living in Christ?* That was the question which underlay the whole argument on "justification". "Do you not know that all that have been baptised into Christ were baptised into His death? We were then buried with Him to go down into death that as He rose from the dead in the glory of the Father, we should walk in newness of life."[19]

This newness, which is a completely different mode of viewing life, a life on another scale of being, a life so filled with the consciousness of being loved that we are made partakers of a mystery which changes us and all our standards—this is what to St. Paul it meant to be *christened*. "For if we died with Christ, we believe that we shall also share with Him in life. Knowing that Christ being raised from the dead meets death no more. Death no more lords it over Him. For in that He died, He died once in that ruinous state which is the sphere of sin: but in that He lives, He lives in the sphere of God: so you also must reckon yourselves to be on the one side dead as corpses in all that relates to sin, on the other pulsing with life for those divine opportunities which you find in your life in your kingly redeemer; change your life, moving from the impulses of self which turn every faculty and function of your nature awry, to make each of them a weapon of the good fight for God."[20]

You need not bother about the Jewish system any more, he went on. You are now in the realm of *grace*, and grace is that favour direct from God which makes us sharers in His rightness, His goodness and His mind. You are freed from sin; you are a *new creation.*

7

Some would say then: "Can't we do what we like? If we are in grace, will not God cover everything in His forgiveness and His power?"[21] "Ah," answered Paul, "that idea is intolerable, absurd. You are always under a master, sin enslaves you to death and destruction. But the one who has a claim on your obedience will make you free to live aright. I must speak in a plain, human way because of the tendencies of your nature. As you once made every faculty and function of your nature the slave of impurity and license to sin and doom with uncleanness, so now you must devote them to rightness of living that may climb to holiness. There is a service which is freedom. What did you gain by that old life of indulgence? The end of it is the corruption of death. But if your service is given to God, you have at once the gain of living in holiness, and finally you will have life eternal. For the wages of sin is death, but the gift of God in grace is life eternal in Christ Jesus our Lord."[22]

In other words, effort in the Christian life is accompanied by such a change of atmosphere that grace gives both a sense of freedom, and a confident hope of joy and glory—though we owe the pledge to Christ's redemption, yet it is already clear in a believer's own consciousness.

8

Paul's argument was both subtle and condensed. He had sacrificed clearness to brevity: in itself, the arrangement is confused, and shows a sense of strain at facing a complexity of issues. But one can piece out the contention—in the first place, of course, his argument is not one which every man will follow. People will not accept it, unless they have the gift of an inclina-

tion to believe, unless they know inwardly what he means by grace, and the gifts of grace.

But, apart from this, he had two great difficulties: on the one hand he had to face controversy from two separate quarters: from the Jews, with their insistence on their Law, an insistence in which their proselytes would share: from the other, the other nations who were accustomed to the debased worship which followed on idolatry, and which made Corinth a haunt and source of vice. But these two standards were not wholly separate. The Jews were by no means always models; and had they not tended to assimilate themselves everywhere to the conceptions around them?

It is plain that as the argument of this diatribe proceeds, Paul has to some extent forgotten the Romans he intends to visit: he is overcome by the number of arguments he has to meet, and especially by the knowledge that, though the Jewish law was superseded, yet before that it had been not only the highest system the world had known, but a preparation for the Messiah, and the dispensation of grace.[23]

It is to this point he now turns, and turns with characteristic subtlety. "You know, my brothers," he said, "for you are acquainted with the Jewish system—that a man is subject to it as long as he is alive. A woman is bound to a man as long as he lives; but if he dies, she is free to marry again."[24] Paul then says to his Jewish converts: you likewise have died with Christ in His death, and you are therefore free to enter new engagements.

Paul's general idea is clear, though the illustration hardly helps. But no sooner had he brought it out than he breaks into a yet more subtle disquisition; his former experience mingles with his sense of present weakness, and of the weakness of those converts for whose stumblings he blushed.

First of all, he reflected, thinking of his own experience, that

to tell a man he should not do a thing at once suggests to him that he should do it: secondly, he reflected, that if he had done it, when he did not know it was forbidden, he had no sense of guilt. The Jewish system was excellent in what it commanded: it was not merely good and a guide to right living, but even to holy living. And yet, in the double way, which he had just explained, it led a man to corruption and made a tender conscience miserable. A man felt sin within him, luring and goading him into the very life he wanted to avoid. That reminded Paul of all the anguish he had suffered before his conversion: an anguish which returned in moments of exhaustion: "Wretched man that I am!" he cried out: "who will deliver me from the body of this death?"[25]

9

There is but one way to escape from this torment and anguish of the soul. It is to turn to Jesus, and through that spirit of love which dwells within us, to live in Him by faith. Then one need have no more fear for the weakness of human nature: if the flesh of man was weak, it had paid the price.

> When all was sin and shame
> A second Adam to the fight
> And to the rescue came.[26]

And this second Adam was the Son of God. He by His death and passion; and by His glorious Resurrection and Ascension, had in His love for man both taken for Himself the death which is implicit in the ways of sin, and raised those who lived in Him to the realm of the Spirit. Though the weaknesses of human nature (which Paul called "the affections of the flesh")

are enmity to God, yet if the Spirit dwells within you, that is life and peace, and will ensure your resurrection.[27]

10

In scattered sentences, the Epistle had shown the marks of a great stylist: but the argument as a whole had been far the most confused and dense that Paul had set out. He seemed stifled by the complexity of the problem before him, like the autumn fire smothered by the mixed heap of burning weeds.

His sweeping canvas of the sinful world was not original: it was, as we have seen, but a new draft of certain passages of Wisdom. He had put in three quotations from the Psalms which gave little help to the argument. The remaining doctrines had not been new: they were but a more complex restatement of what he had written to the Galatians. He had restated his current teaching, but were these chapters his introduction to a new community, the subtlest of them might have been puzzled. They would have recognised—in phrase after phrase—the impact of a saint and genius: they would have felt him like a thunder-roll, but he would have made the new teaching yet more difficult to understand. The impression was one of strain, torment, weariness, in a spirit of mighty energy. But now at last the clouds were clearing, and the vision opened with a sense of calm.

As many as are led by the Spirit of God, these are the sons of God.[28] They need not be afraid as slaves, but they might have the loving confidence of adopted children to say to the King of Heaven, Father. "The Spirit Himself bears witness with our spirit that we are children of God: and if children, then heirs—heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ—if we

suffer with Him, that also we may be made to share in His glory."[29]

His imagination soared, as on the one side he reviewed what had to be endured, and the glory that was opening on his inward vision. With the insight of St. Francis of Assisi, he felt within himself an intuitive sympathy with the growth and stress of all creation.[30] On the one side, it too seemed to be enslaved, as each single thing fell away to death and ruin—the beast, the flower, the tree. Each seemed to feel within itself the throes of travail and to cry aloud in pain—as man does in the pathos of his existence:—

> I saw wherever light illumineth
> Beauty and anguish walking hand in hand
> The downward slope to death.[31]

But when he searched the rending storm he saw the clouds coloured to crimson and fire by a sunrise beyond them; for a sun arose with healing in its wings.

In the pathos of life, it is the Spirit of love which speaks: this Spirit intercedes within us "in yearnings which can never be expressed in sighs or groans or tears",[32] yearnings so intense that their very force becomes hope, yearnings which cry into the ears of heaven. The serried argument has changed for the sonorous music of an immortal hymn to the heavenly King, "For we know that to those who love God—to those who are called according to His purpose—all things work together for good. For those whom God had foreknown, He predestined to share a likeness in the image of His Son that, among many brothers, He should be the first-born. Those whom He had destined, He also called to hear and accept His promises; and those whom He called, these He set right in His eyes: and finally to those whom He had set right, He gave His glory."[33]

Such is the triumphant vindication of the sovereignty of God.

"What then shall we say in the face of these things? If God is for us, who can be against us? He who spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all, how shall He not with Him accord us all things as His graces?"

> Who shall bring any charge against God's chosen?
> It is God who has declared them guiltless. Who will find them guilty?
> Christ Jesus, who died, nay rather who rose from the dead,
> Who is on the right hand of God,
> He also intercedes for us.
> Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?
> Shall tribulation? or anguish? or persecution?
> Or nakedness? or peril? or sword?
> As it is written, "For thy sake, we are killed all the day long
> We are regarded as sheep for the slaughter".

"But in all these things, we are more than conquerors through Him that loved us. For I am persuaded that neither death nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."[34]

This hymn of triumph in the power of Divine Love is literature immortal, like the passage on charity written at Ephesus a few years earlier. It is not only consummate in the art of words but visionary and sublime: the change of height and atmosphere is so sudden that one asks whether the passage was inserted, or whether a swift excitement overpowered the writer. He takes flight suddenly, and an eagle in high skies, he wings the dawn.

Then, as before in Ephesus, he resumes the argument with which he was occupied—but in this case, not without an added tension of feeling. "I speak the truth in Christ, I lie not; my conscience being a fellow witness to me in the Holy Spirit that my sorrow is great, and unceasing pain is in my heart. For I could wish to be anathema from Christ for the sake of my brothers, of those who, humanly speaking, are of one race with me: for they are Israelites, and theirs is the adoption, and the glory, and the covenant, and the giving of the Law, and the worship, and the promises, theirs are the fathers, and from them, humanly speaking, is born the Christ, He who is God over all, blessed for evermore."[35] The words of Deuteronomy, Joel, Ezekiel, the Psalms, but especially Isaiah, haunt him as he develops his theme for his people. Yet the covenant and the promises, he insists, were not enough without answering to the Divine call, the call which comes to other nations too. It was like grafting: if the trunk of the tree is sound and it gets root and soil, it will give its sap to the branches grafted in —so with the alien nations; but their wild branches when grafted in could not bear more than the original branches of the tree if the original tree were sound. And neither will be of use, if they bear no olives.[36] But the very recalcitrance of the Jews gave the others their opportunity, and for those who are called according to God's purpose all things work together for good. He makes them work to the good of those that love Him. He has showered mercy on them all.

The poetry of Isaiah, of Ecclesiasticus and of Wisdom echo in Paul's mind to the swelling and reverberating chords of his impassioned close: "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God! How unsearchable are His judgments and His ways past tracing out. For who hath

known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been His counsellor? Or who hath first given unto Him, and it shall be recompensed unto him again? For of Him and through Him and for Him are all things. To Him be glory for ever and ever, amen."[37]

12

His argument had ended. His previous disquisition had been steep and unequal like the peaks and cliffs of a sierra. Logic, to tell the truth, was not his strong point: he shows everywhere the lack of a thorough Hellenic training in dialectic; the theory is rough, not polished: and many a stray thought, a sharp animadversion, or a personal peculiarity trips and stays the reader. But now that Paul has only to portray the life of grace, he does so in outlines as full and clear as his logic had been jagged.[38]

"And so I encourage you, brothers, through the mercy of God, to offer up your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy, well pleasing to God, as your logical service and worship. Do not model yourselves on this age in which you live, but renew and remould your inner mind completely till it bears the glory of that will of God which is one with goodness and nobleness and perfection."[39]

That would mean harmony and adjustment as the organs and muscles of a healthy athlete are instinctively co-ordinated for his purpose: in the Church there are some to serve, some to teach, some to encourage, some to distribute charity, some to preside, some to show kindness: let each show his special gift in the excellence it requires. Let love be perfectly sincere: let men be full of affection for one another, showing consideration for one another's position. Rejoice in hope, endure trials, be

assiduous in prayer, generous to Christians in need, and cultivate hospitality. Have that sympathy which joins as much in the joys as in the sorrows of others. Bless those that persecute you: and if you have an enemy, do all you can to help him: go hungry that he may eat. Overcome evil by doing more good. Christians are members of one body. Love is the fulfilling of the law.[40] "The night is far spent: the day is at hand. Let us cast off like soiled clothes the works of darkness: let us robe ourselves in the armour and weapons of the light. Let us go forward honourably, as in the daytime, not going to excess in eating and drinking, or to self-indulgence and indecency, to quarrels and to jealousies. But wear as your robe Christ, your Lord and King, and take no thought for your lower nature, to satisfy its inclinations and its passions."[41]

13

There were vegetarians (he does not mention teetotallers): well and good, if their conscience told them so; but let them not force their opinions on the whole Church—nor the Church on the other hand deride them.[42] And let no one come in conflict with the Roman administration, government, authority or courts of justice: these were benefits, which came from on high: the taxation to maintain them, therefore, was perfectly reasonable and right. Give all Romans their due: taxes, tribute, submission and respect.[43]

And then "turn back to the Scriptures: for what has been written in them has been written to instruct that we, through that patience and that consolation which come from the inspired word might have hope; and cultivate these feelings towards one another for the glory and praise of God. May He, the God of hope, fill your hearts with all joy and peace in the faith

that you may overflow with hope in the power of the Holy Spirit."[44]

Such to all intents and purposes was the end of the long instruction in this document, which had become as practical, as intimate, as warm as Paul's habitual writing.

14

He had still his personal things to say: his plans to tell. He paid his compliment to the mind and character of the saints at Rome, and yet he was justified in renewing their memories, and fulfilling his mission.[45] He hoped to see them when he passed on towards Spain. For the present, he must take the offering to Jerusalem from Greece: and he knew that he must face prejudice and opposition: but their intercessions would help him so that he might go on to Rome with joy and, when he came among them, find refreshment.

XVIII

FROM FOES TO FRIENDS

1

THIS GREAT DOCUMENT TELLS US LITTLE OF WHAT PAUL FOUND in Corinth: nor do we hear from any other source. We can conjecture only: but though no doubt, his own converts received him warmly in their gratitude for his letters, and though he had many consolations, he felt everywhere that many Jews hated him: not only the unconverted Parushim, but also those Jews who, though they accepted Jesus as the Messiah, felt that His saving work was for Israel only and who were utterly unprepared to see in a universal Church the Israel of God.

Everywhere they had persecuted Paul, and they were now determined to do away with him. Their plan was to wait till he embarked and then quietly have him thrown overboard. And who, when the boat arrived, would be the wiser?[1]

The only way he could escape their gentle plan was to surround himself with proved companions, and travel by land. And of these he had seven with him, seven on whom he could rely completely: three of them were Macedonians: the others were from Asia Minor: for Timotheos had with him a certain Gaius from Derbe; from Asia Minor there were two faithful Hellenists, Tychicos and Trophimos. Such was the party which in the spring weather set off from Corinth on the road which leads past Megara and Eleusis to Athens, where they would have found again Damaris, Denys and a Church. But they were unlikely to have tarried in the electric air which played upon the honey-coloured marbles: if Paul could impart some of those encouragements and flashes of illumination which it

was his gift to spread he would have been satisfied. We do not know if he tried again to speak in Athens. But to be in Athens was always an event.

For it was still the centre for the flower of youth from all the countries round. And Paul had realised that he had a debt to Athens.

For all through the favoured land the tradition of Athens was present and alive, both in the marbles and bronzes of the sculptor, in the fluted columns on which the architect set his pediments, in the verses of the poet and the wisdom of the sage. Though they remained apart, the Israelites were not ignorant of these things: and they too had lived among hills and sunlight, with the tempering Mediterranean in view. They too had sheep and goats: they too had fishermen, and fig-trees and the vine. But to an Israelite these fine things of nature were as familiar as, to an Indian, the lotus and the pipal. And it would hardly occur to him to note the more impressive beauty which nature had given to the deep gulfs and glistening mountains of Achaia. "What he would not think of noting down was that the olive tree was so choice in nature and so noble in shape that it excited a religious veneration; and that it took so kindly to the light soil as to expand into woods upon the open plain, and to climb up and fringe the hills."[2] Paul would not think of telling his converts at Corinth or Salonika how, from Athens to Corinth, the delicate and brilliant atmosphere freshened the colours till the olive forgot its monotony, and an Italian might see how its cheek glowed like the arbutus of Etruria or the beech on Umbrian hills. He said nothing of the thyme and other fragrant herbs from which the bees from Laurion or Eleusis, to the heights of Helicon and Parnassus would draw their honey in the long summer hours: he hardly heard their humming; he hardly noticed the violet or narcissus, or the bloom on almond and peach, or the freshness of colour

on Parnes or Hymettos: but as the spring advanced while he followed on through that land of names and glory, his eye rested on all these things; till he again arrived from Corinth in Macedonia.

He had become debtor, he said, both to Greek and to Barbarian. He realised the distinct detail: the refined colouring, the graceful outline of the Attic scene were before him against a sky coloured at morning and evening with intensest brilliance of cloud and light; after he had arrived at Corinth, he had looked westward from the heights towards Parnassus and Erymanthos, and the long Corinthian gulf, or backwards towards Athens over the Aegean. Now at Athens, he could follow with his eye the chain of islands "which starting from the Sunian headland seemed to offer the fabled divinities of Attica when they would visit their Ionian cousins, a sort of viaduct thereto across the sea; but that fancy would not occur to him, nor any admiration of the dark violet billows with their white edges down below; nor of those graceful, fanlike jets of silver upon the rock, which slowly rise aloft like water spirits from the deep, then shiver and break, and spread and shroud themselves and disappear in a soft wisp of foam, nor of the gentle incessant heaving and panting of the whole liquid plain, nor of the long waves, keeping steady time, like a line of soldiery upon the hollow shore."[8]

For all those things which here are thus poetically noted were always before him and around him. They mingled with his life, with his praise of God, with his sense of the marvel which, in the triumphal procession of Christ, his life had become till it poured forth love, as the censer pours forth incense. But his soul was absorbed in the drama of his relation with other souls, with the spread of the evangel, with the problem on the one side of sin, and on the other of grace, the problem of redemption which he must elucidate both for his Jews and

for all nations. And besides he had his special preoccupation. He was in haste to safeguard the money he carried with him to win accord for his work at Jerusalem.

2

Apart then from the Jewish plot to throw him overboard, this gave a second reason why it would be safer to travel on by land: and by land therefore we may guess that he passed on to Thebes in Boeotia, past Parnassus and Thermopylae over the Ochrys range to the plain of Thessaly with Olympus square beyond, white beneath sun and stars; he went up the long road between the coast and the snow-crested ranges: and so through the fair vale of Tempe, till once again he came to the Haliakmon valley, and saw across it Verria, which had received him with honour some seven years before. There his companion, Sosipatros, knew the best ways of approach. From Verria, he must have passed back to Salonika, and so on past Mount Hortiach and the lakes of Beshek, till, beyond Apollonia, he again came down to the shore at the Gulf of Rendina. At that season, Macedonia is brilliant with hyacinths, crocuses, anemones; above them the asphodel shows its pallid veins. The sun gathers warmth every day. Yet the thoughts that absorbed Paul and his company were still the safeguarding of their money, their prospects at Jerusalem, and their preparation for that Easter celebration of the Passion and Resurrection in which the meaning of the Passover was completed: when the Paschal Lamb for sacrifice was Christ Himself,[4] when they would meet in the communion of His Body and His Blood, and when the unleavened bread signified a life free from the leaven of vice and wickedness to worship an immaculate Redeemer in sincerity and truth.

"How tenderly I love you in the mercies of Christ!"[5] that was the feeling of grateful expectation which echoed on through his heart since he had written it from Ephesus a few years before. Surely when he met them he would find them—as he urged them to be—rejoicing; joy and amenity would make them know, above all, that they had received the gifts of the Spirit: the peace of God, which passes all understanding,[6] would have given a mystic quality to that exquisite taste which fixed its thoughts on things honourable, pure, true, and beautiful,[7] till, like the most spiritual of the Corinthians, they were changed from glory into glory, as by the Spirit of the Lord.[8]

It was thoughts such as these on which his mind rested rather than on the storks, the starlings or the anemones—the sharp nights and the warm glow of the noonday sun.

3

At Philippi, he found again the delightful, tactful, subtle young physician with the cultured tastes who had first led him from the Troad to Macedonia. The danger of Jews robbing them, or throwing Paul overboard, had been evaded at last, and they could await the aid of the wind. After celebrating the Resurrection, they prepared, therefore, to sail from Kavalla past Thasos and Samothrace down the coast of Asia Minor on their way to Jerusalem.

Since the physician was with them, we know what happened from day to day as they sailed on through the blue seas to the sun, and to the holy places of Jerusalem.

At first the wind was adverse, and it took them three or four days to reach the plains of Troy. Twice, we remember, Paul had been to Alexandria on his way to Macedonia: once after his long journey through the plateaux of Asia Minor,

once after his long sojourn in Ephesus: and each time he had been able to spread his blessed message. There was plenty to occupy him for a week as he passed among the converts to build them up in that faith and charity and hope which mingled with one another in his contemplation of the perfect life. The festival of the Resurrection so joyfully celebrated at Philippi filled his mind with a sense of triumph even in the midst of trials. At Alexandria, on the eve of that Sunday which he was already keeping as a weekly festival, Paul met the Christians to partake with them of the mystery of Holy Communion in a room three stories above the street. He continued speaking for hours; as it struck midnight, he was still discoursing.

It is even now occasionally remarked that a long sermon can lull listeners to sleep. On this particular evening, one young Christian was so powerfully affected by this particular quality of the preaching that he fell through the window against which he had been leaning, crashed to the ground below, and was apparently killed. Paul went down to the body: taking a lesson from Elijah, and confident in the power with which the Christ had endowed him, he stretched his body, with its immense reserve of vital and healing power, over the body of the young man.

"Do not trouble," he said, arising, "for his life is in him." He then returned to the upper room, and found in the breaking of the bread the mysterious presence and power of the Christ.[9]

The elation of the company reached its height when, as dawn broke and Paul departed on the road to Assos, they found that the heavy sleeper had not closed his eyes for the last time. From the city where, a year or two before, he had undergone such torment of anxiety, Paul now set out in thankful joy.

4

His journey that Monday morning led him through delightful woods over hills from which he could see both Mount Ida and the Aegean. The oaks were now in full foliage, the hellebore spread its green, and the asphodel its pallid petals, above the grass. As they came down to Assos, they saw its granite citadel rise on a crest of rock.

It was here that Paul rejoined the companions who had sailed round Cape Lectum, and from here he could look along the coast to the sheltered harbour of Edremid and backwards to Mount Ida. As Assos and Ida faded from the view, Lesbos emerged to the South, and on Lesbos glittered the walls of Mitylene which were so finely placed against a mountain crest that it had struck both Cicero and Horace as singularly lovely. The island had nurtured the poet of passion: it was here that Sappho had loved and sung. But if the thought of Paul searched with eagerness so fine a sight, it was not for the songs of the Lesbians but their souls. It was to ask again if false worship had entrapped the inhabitants of this enchanting spot into depravity: yet it would be going too far to suggest that, either here or in the hardly less attractive prospects which opened on his eyes between Scio and the Asian hills, he was unthankful amidst such themes of praise. On the one side were the gigantic heights of the mainland: on the other the beautiful island with its white houses amidst green foliage of pine, ilex, citron, and the flowers of late spring. For at that season, those delightful scenes were as though newly created in all the freshness of the ripening summer. So on past Chios, Samos, past the hard fought ridge of Mycale they sailed to the mouth of the Cayster, and to Trogyllium where they anchored for the night.

The dawn rose over the heights of Messagio and Tmolus, which in his long sojourn in Ephesus he had come to know so

well: but he did not put into the mouth of the Cayster to revisit Ephesus. It is conceivable that the voyage of the ship was determined before he boarded it: it is possible that he dared not return to a city where his presence had already proved so embarrassing to those responsible for maintaining order. It is certain that he was in haste to reach Jerusalem: but in any case he did not land before he reached the mouth of the Meander at Miletos.[10]

Thither he summoned his friends from Ephesus to tell all that filled his mind and heart. That danger and affliction were coming he knew, with that infallible intuition which was the gift of the Spirit; "but none of these things move me," he said, "nor do I attach any price to my life, if only I can accomplish my appointed course with joy, and the ministry which I received from the Lord Jesus to tell forth the blessed message of the grace of God. For indeed I know that all of you, among whom I have gone from city to city proclaiming the Kingdom of God, shall see my face no more."[11]

Temptation and difficulties would trouble the Church at Ephesus. Cruel wolves would harry the flock. Men teaching false doctrines would try to seduce the believers; so let them be vigilant, remembering that for three years Paul had ceased not night nor day to warn each of them—with tears.

"And now," he said, "at the last I commend you to God, and to the word of His grace—to Him who is able to build you up and give you a heritage with all who have been made holy. I have sought for the silver, the gold, the apparel of no man. You know yourselves that these hands have provided for my needs and for those who were with me. And I did this to give you an example—by toiling in that way to support the weak, and to recall the words of the Lord Jesus, how He said: 'It is more blessed to give than to receive'."[12]

The chronicler who reports this speech continues his story

with words as simple and touching: "After having spoken these words, he knelt down and prayed with them. They burst into tears, throwing themselves on his neck, and kissing him again and again, sorrowing above all that he had said, You shall see my face no more. And they followed him down to the very ship."[13]

5

His heart softened and consoled, he sailed down the smiling coast past the long island of Kos until he reached Rhodes with its view of the blue Taurus across the strait; its harbour, its citadel, its hills, its roses, its groves of olives, its orchards of fruit, were all glistening in the presence of the spring. Whether in this paradise he left the treasure of his message, the chronicler does not tell: his interest appears to be absorbed in the voyage, and he no more now than at other times wrote descriptions of places. It is only for us who know the singular charm of those islands and coasts to recall through what scenes Paul and his party moved, how, though their forebodings weighed against their consolations, all were ordered into peace: because in the predestined plan for each of them, every trial was an opportunity to come closer to the Lord they worshipped, that they might augment their weight and treasure of glory; they were persuaded that in their search for union with God all things were working together to perfect their eternal good, and that not the greatest cataclysms in heaven or earth could separate them from the love by which God had made them one with Himself in the Christ.

At Patara, over against Rhodes in Asia Minor, the party found a ship which was sailing direct for Phenicia. Taking a course to the south of Cyprus past that port of Baffa where he had had such interesting encounters with Sergius Paulus some

nine or ten years before and sheltered by the heights of Troödos from the northern breeze, they sailed round past Larnaka and Famagusta and the sunny beaches of the Eastern end of the island; then, after a spell of the more open sea, they found themselves in the famous harbour of Tyre.

Paul had passed through it many times in his journeys to and from Cilicia on the Orontes and Jerusalem, and now he found disciples who welcomed him;[14] as at Alexandria Troas, he stayed with them a whole week. In all these visits, he felt a premonition of danger, which his friends shared. "Do not go", they pleaded, but he felt constrained to sail on; and, on the sands below the Lebanon, he faced a scene of devotion almost as touching as at the mouth of the Meander. Even the women and children came with him to the beach; and there they too knelt and prayed.

It was but a short sail down the coast from the harbour of Tyre to the even more picturesque port of Acre. Here too a little citadel was thrust into the sea to protect a tiny harbour. The last extensions of the Lebanon were changing into the hills of Galilee among which lay the village of Giscala[15] from which his family had come to Tarsus; among them also to the East was Nazareth. Across the long curve of the bay rose the beauty of Mount Carmel, in which sheltered the cave of Elijah. He was back at last in the sacred country of his people. But a short journey down the coast with its rock and its beaches and his ship had reached its destination at Caesarea.

6

The earlier journeys of Paul were ended. He had indeed taken his story on the wings of the morning; the scenes through which he had passed were not only singularly beautiful in out-

line and in verdure, but on them also the sun shone brilliantly. The theatre, the arch, the temple, and the statue had added to lands, already favoured by nature, the ennobling associations of classic taste. The finest thoughts of genius and citizenship had been nurtured amongst those monuments: there Plato had spoken and Aristotle: there Euripides had sung; there Alexander had dreamed of his civilizing conquests: there Homer had told of his heroes; and a line of philosophers had taught the nobleness of a life of restraint, while sport and ideals mingled with music to train a young man to strive eagerly in his love of the beautiful, the good and the true.

In all these scenes the Israelites had been told already of a purer religion: for their sublime literature rang with the worship of a God who loved them. It had been the privilege and drama of the life of Paul to tell alike to Israelite and Hellene, to Ionian and to Italian the blessed message that God's love reserved for them powers richer than any among them had dreamed.

Paul had, in the peace which passes all understanding, made known to them the secret of how to know God, how to live in Him, how God had made them citizens in the commonwealth of heaven; how He had not only looked after them with watchful care, but in the mysteries of grace had initiated them into the life of His Divine perfection; He had given them His Spirit to dwell in their own hearts; He had changed them from glory to glory by accepting them into His own holiness in the Christ and in His Church.

7

The height, the intensity, the marvel of this love, this faith, this hope, each merging into the other to attain its own perfec-

tion, were so rich that the finest records of genius, like the most beautiful combinations of sea and mountain, are hardly suggested in the narrative and letters of one who, though a greater and more impressive genius than any yet known in these glittering scenes, held genius as nothing unless it was consecrated by grace. Silver, said an old chronicler, was nothing accounted of in the days of King Solomon. Of so little account was a masterpiece of poetry, sculpture or philosophy against the novel riches of redemption. The new wealth, bountiful and enduring—even for the rudest—was the treasury of grace and peace, such as they found both in themselves and one another when they were accepted into that communion so hallowed that Paul knew it as the Christ.

8

The moon had waned and filled again as he sailed down from Kavalla to Caesarea: the spring had advanced to a glowing warmth in a region of flowers: the oak of the wood was exchanged for the palm. "He had sailed in the finest season on the brightest coast and in the fairest weather."[16] And we do well to recall all these, but only that we may the more enhance the personal interest of his story: that we may recall his personal apprehensions, and the assurance he owed to his faith: and that we may see and feel the closeness of affection which bound him as an Apostle to those who, through his voice, had been made the inheritors of splendour.

In all these things there is, even from the human point, a drama. He was a Jew, always in danger from the plots of the Jews. Everywhere he had had a premonition that he would be yet once more arrested, and when he finally landed in Judaea, this premonition was set before him and his Christians with a

curious sense both of vividness and of mystery. At Caesarea they were the guests of one of the first adherents of Christianity, a certain Philip. All of his four daughters had kept from men, to live to Christ alone: and while he passed among them, the Agabus, who at Antioch some ten years before had prophesied the famine, arriving from Jerusalem, now approached him before them all; taking from Paul the belt he wore, Agabus had bound it round his own feet and hands. "Here", he said, "is what the Holy Spirit has pronounced. The man to whom this belt belongs will be bound at Jerusalem by the Jews and delivered over to the nations."[17] When they heard this impressive warning, so dramatically delivered, the friends of Paul begged him not to go to Jerusalem.

To a man, urging himself on against his natural inclinations and his fears, it is hard for him when friends support the blandishments of his own ease. "Ah!" he cried out. "What are you doing to weep like this and break my heart? As for me, I am ready not only to be fettered but even to die at Jerusalem for the sake of the Lord Jesus."[18] When a man insists that heroism is above comfort or safety: those who love him most are forced to add to his sacrifice the weight of their own sorrow. His friends at Caesarea could only say, "God's will be done!"[19]

XIX

CRAFT IN JERUSALEM

1

THE PILGRIM PARTY HAD MADE THEIR PREPARATIONS AND, making a numerous band, they climbed up through Kefr-Saba to Jerusalem. At last Paul could place his offering in the hands of the waiting doubters. The austere James was waiting for him with his robe of white linen, and his venerable beard. "They received us", says the chronicler, "with joy."[1] But what was the reason for that joy, and how far did it go? At this point, the brevity of the chronicler awakes in Renan the sharpest suspicion. Nothing is said of the money Paul had taken so much trouble to collect, and Renan even asks whether the insinuation was not made that Paul was trying to buy the Apostolic authority with money. What is certain is that among the most powerful Christians of Jerusalem the great missioner found none to take him in. His host was a man from Cyprus![2]

2

In the absence of Peter and Paul, had not the zealots in the Holy City been clinging to every Jewish observance in the most pharisaical way? Were they not bitterly opposed to the broad view that faith was superior to the Mosaic observance, that the nations were to inherit the promises made to Abraham, and that for those who were christened, even circumcision was unnecessary: they were unprepared for all that was universal and advanced in the ways and thoughts of Paul? To the mag-

nificent story of his mission, even to the proof of his success offered in hard cash, they answered with words so cautious as to be churlish. The tactful ellipsis of Lucanus veils but cannot hide the irony.

They glorified God, he said, and said to Paul: "You see, brother, what thousands of Jews have the faith, and all of them insist upon the Jewish law. Now they have heard that you came here teaching to the Jews scattered among the nations that they should separate from Moses, telling them not to circumcise their sons and not to conform to the observances! Then what is to be done? Undoubtedly there will soon be a demonstration, for they will soon know that you are here. You must do what we now tell you"[3]—and with this they prescribed that he should join with four men who were taking that vow of the Nazarite he had taken at Cenchrea: shave his head —dress, in fact, as a penitent—make the appointed sacrifices of animal slaughtered, and also pay for theirs! By this means, so it was suggested, he would avert suspicion. He would certainly lose most of what slender resources he had reserved.[4]

But the story which follows is far from reassuring. Not a word is said of James, or of any support for Paul from any of that company. All that we hear is that, as at so many places before, the Jews now rose against him with accusations as noisy as they were unjust. They said that he had profaned the temple by entering with his Ephesian convert, Trophimos: they shouted that he had preached everywhere against the temple, against the Jewish Law and against the Jewish people. Suddenly the steps and dust of the narrow passages in the old walled city were in uproar. Surging, pushing, shouting, crowds started out among the booths of the bazaar. In the area of the temple, while the Levites blew their trumpets against the profanation, the crowd seized Paul, thrust him out, and locked the gates of the temple area. As Paul was dragged and pushed

along, blows hailed on him.

The man then in charge of Jerusalem, as governor or tribune, was a certain Lysias, a Syrian, or Greco-Syrian, who for a substantial sum had been made a Roman citizen. On buying this honour he had taken the Emperor's own name of Claudius. To this Claudius Lysias Roman soldiers hastened to report that the city was in uproar. Assembling his centurions and his soldiers, the tribune hurried to the crowd which was ill-treating Paul. At the sight of the armed authority the crowd scattered. Paul was left alone to be arrested and fettered with two chains.

3

Who was he? What had he done? When the authorities asked these questions of the Jews, they raised a new tumult. Some answered one thing; others another. Not knowing what judgment to form, the tribune ordered Paul to be led to the fortress, the tower Antonia. The rabble surged after, shouting "Kill him! Kill him!"[5]

Nevertheless, Paul obtained permission to address the crowd. Those who arrested him were not a little astonished to find him not only speaking Greek, but explaining that both he himself was a Jew and that he had civic rights in a town as cultured as any in Asia. Raised above the crowd on a flight of steps and now speaking Hebrew, he soon had the hearing of the Jews and explained how zealous a Parush he had been, studying his rabbinism from a master no less than Gamaliel: he recapitulated the story of his conversion, not omitting to mention that he had been a leader in persecution, conniving at the death of Stephanos—until the Christ had said to him: "It is to nations afar that I wish to send thee."[6]

This sentence reminded the crowd of what had incited them to fury. "Away with such a fellow from the earth!" they cried in re-kindled frenzy. "It is not fit that he should live."[7] Once again a great wave of shouting burst from the throats of the rabble. They were in a mood of high excitement. If this was the result of Paul's speech, it did not commend him to the tribune, who gave orders that the offender should be again shut up in the tower to see what cruelty would persuade him to confess. He was rapidly stripped and tied down, and the torturing whip lay ready for its grim work on his worn flesh. Paul's presence of mind did not desert him: it was not until he was strapped down for the torture that he found an opportunity to impress the centurion in charge. Then: "Is it lawful", he asked, "for you to scourge a Roman citizen who has not even been found guilty in a court?"[8]

The words which had secured his freedom from the dungeon near the arch of Pompey at Philippi did not fail in the tower built at Jerusalem in honour of Mark Antony. "What are you about?" asked the Centurion of Claudius Lysias. "This man has the rights of Roman citizenship."[9] The tribune hurried back to Paul with the anxious question: "Are you really a Roman citizen?"[10]

The answer, and a nameless authority behind it in the personality and culture of the prisoner, startled the oriental mind of Lysias. "At a great price I obtained this citizenship," said Lysias,[11] for did it not assure the protection of the law wherever Rome ruled? Now, knowing its worth, had he impugned it? The next words of Paul impressed him still more: "I had it from my birth".[12]

The tribune reflected; the next morning, having freed Paul from his fetters, he convoked the Sanhedrin and sent Paul down to meet it.

The head of this Hebrew council was a rabbi whose name was Ananias ben Nedebaï. It would perhaps not be surprising, even to-day, that a man notorious both as a skinflint and a heavy eater was held in high esteem in Jerusalem;[13] and no sooner had Paul, with that piercing glance and that impassioned tone which had so often impressed both the learned and the poor, begun his speech by saying that he was acting in good faith, than Ananias, rising in the white robe which contrasted with his coarse Jewish features and his heavy figure, gave order to one of his satellites to strike the prisoner in the mouth.

It was an outrage that Paul resented with all the energy of his temperament. "God shall strike you, you wall of white-washed stone", he cried. "You claim to judge me according to the Torah, and in defiance of the Torah you give orders that I shall be struck."[14]

But proud words could not help him. "What!" cried the Jews, scandalized. "You are insulting the high priest of God!"[15]

Paul saw the need of calm and excused himself. "I did not know, brothers," he answered with well-veiled irony, "that *he* was the high priest. If I had known I would not have spoken so: for it is written: *Thou shalt not insult the leader of thy people.*"[16] This reference to a text in Exodus, with its discreet thrust at the personal weakness of a greedy man, produced a more favourable impression. Paul went on to explain that he was a Parush, the son of a Parush.

"Do you know why they accuse me?" he asked. "Because I hope for the resurrection of the dead."[17]

He had chosen from his faith a point on which all the Parushim would join battle at any moment with their rivals, the Sadducees, and immediately a furious discussion arose.

When the debate became noisier and noisier, Claudius Lysias intervened once more and had Paul brought back to his prison in the tower Antonia.

Meanwhile his thwarted enemies bound themselves under a curse that they would neither eat nor drink till they had his blood. The plot spread amongst the Parushim till it reached Paul's own relatives. Among these was a nephew, who managed to obtain access first to Paul himself and then to the tribune. Claudius Lysias, knowing that it might be long before he heard the end of such an outrage against a Roman citizen, decided to send Paul well guarded to Caesarea, where his case could be referred to the Roman Governor.

And so when Paul left for the last time the city of peace it was with a Roman escort of two hundred lancers, seventy other mounted soldiers and two hundred foot. Claudius Lysias, knowing his Jews, was determined to run no risks with his important captive, a Roman citizen, whom the Jews were determined to kill—and though the greater number had turned back at Kefr-Saba, when they believed the danger passed, it was still at the centre of a clattering cavalcade that Paul entered the port he had left a fortnight before.

5

The authority before whom Paul now appeared was one of those loose Roman *arrivistes* to whom the Emperor Claudius had handed over the administration of Judaea after the fall of the Herodian house. He was a political adventurer—of a type only too notorious in modern Paris—who had wormed his way to success through a succession of dirty intrigues both with women and local leaders. Beginning as a slave, he owed his first opportunities to Antonia, the daughter of Mark Antony

and Octavia. His brother Pallas making her a fortune, she obtained freedom for them both. Felix had then made his way to Syria, and worked in the administration till he became a Procurator, or Governor, of the whole district.

His character was deformed by an ugly combination of cruelty and lust; he was, says Renan, not only disgraceful but disgusting. Even when he exercised the powers of a king, he retained the mind of a slave.

But he had a way with women: three separate queens had each been his paramour. Of these, the first was the granddaughter of no less famous a pair than Antony and Cleopatra: she was therefore the niece of Antonia who had freed Felix from slavery. As a descendant of Cleopatra, she inherited talent and allurement; but this niece of Antonia, having married the man whom Antonia had freed, was only to be cast aside for another of whose story nothing remains, except that she too was abandoned for a young Jewish princess, a girl of seventeen, Drusilla, who had been married to Aziz, King of Homs. From him Felix seduced her with the help of the magician whom Paul had encountered in Cyprus.[18]

Such had been the life of the lurid personage before whom the Roman law now brought, among the marble courts and palaces of Caesarea, the genius divinely chosen for the embassy of Christ.

It says something for the traditions of Roman justice that Paul in no way suffered from this dubious official. The terms in which his case was reported by Lysias were fair, if not strictly accurate. He had been accused by the Jews not of any crime but in matters relating to their Torah, and was in danger of death when Lysias, having heard that he was a Roman citizen, tore him from their hands: hearing that the Jews were intending again to entrap him, Lysias had sent Paul under a strong guard to Caesarea where the Jews could state their charges.

It was five days before Ananias ben Nedebaï arrived, supported by certain of those ministers whom we know as priests or ancients; and—from this tactful chronicler—this may well mean ministers of the Christian Church. These had hired a pleader with the Roman name of Tertullus, who set out his case against Paul in the open court. "Here", the pleader said, "was a pestilential fellow, an agitator, a follower of the tiresome sect who had even tried to profane the temple, and whom they would have judged according to the Torah, had not Lysias torn him from their hands."[19]

It was for Paul to answer. In his defence he still thought it more discreet to say nothing of the Messiah. "I serve the God of our Fathers", he said, "according to the religion which they call a sect—believing all that is written in the Torah and the Prophets, but having this hope that there will be a resurrection, both of the righteous and of sinners. And that is why I make every effort to have a conscience clear before God and before men. What wrong have I done?"[20] he asked. He had brought an offering to the temple; he had raised no tumult; he had broken no law: the only noise he had occasioned was a debate over the resurrection of the dead!

Now Felix knew enough to understand what this reticent phrase meant: he was well aware that the Christians founded their hopes on the assurance that their Christ had risen from His sepulchre.

Some movements of a soul which, though leprous, was not dead gave Felix a deeper interest in the case before him. A man of passion may link even his scarlet sin with kindly impulse. Conscience awoke curiosity and a craving for redemption, while habit counselled corruption. Felix neither gave judgment nor dismissed the case. Sometimes he merely asked

if his prisoner would bribe him: while sometimes he wondered if, at a price not too high, he might have a pledge for the future of his soul. Paul, remembering from the Proverbs that "the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom", spoke of justice, of self-control, of the need of a good conscience in view of the judgment after death. Such a teaching was anything but soothing to such a man as Felix; in fact he was terrified. Saying that this was enough for the present, he commanded Paul to leave him.[21]

With these intrigues and questions, two whole years went by, and still Paul was not freed. At the end of that time Felix was transferred: but since he calculated he would get more out of the Jews by keeping his prisoner under arrest, Paul was still a prisoner when a new and honest Governor, Porcius Festus, was installed at Caesarea in the year 60; Festus was to administer justice where Felix had indulged his vice.[22] What was he to do with the prisoner whom Felix had left in chains?

When he went up to Jerusalem Festus heard of fresh accusations brought against Paul: the Jews again demanded that the man they hated should be brought to Jerusalem; he was also given information of a fresh scheme to ambush the prisoner on his journey and despatch him. Festus decided that once again the accusers should come down to Caesarea.[23] Many and grave were the charges they brought, but nothing could be proved. Paul argued once more that he had done nothing reprehensible against the Jewish law, nor against the temple, nor against the Emperor. Festus, to please the Jews, suggested that Paul should once more go back to Jerusalem and once more face the Sanhedrin. "If there is nothing in their accusations", answered Paul, "no one has the right to hand me over to them. I appeal to Caesar."[24]

The natural disappointment of Paul over his apparent failure in Jerusalem; the ambushes and trickery of his own

people; their virulent hatred; their obstinate will to do him to death: the failure of the men around James to support him: all had combined to weary and disgust him. On the other side, out of this disappointment came the opportunity he had so long cherished. He could, by appealing to the Emperor, ensure his way to Rome. He could carry the vast conceptions with which he had been inspired from the intrigue and fanaticism of Jewry to the great capital which was the centre of the system which had so often vindicated him, he could go to the meridian of the Empire's power and peace.

7

Before he reached Rome, however, he was to have many adventures. Not the least interesting of his encounters came to him immediately. One of the most remarkable women in the East was about to appear in Caesarea. Berenice, who was to be the subject of a famous play of Racine, was a daughter of Herod Agrippa I and of a sister of Philo of Alexandria.[25] She was to become the favourite, and almost the Queen, of the Emperor Titus. The Drusilla whom the reprobate Felix had seduced from the King of Homs was her younger sister. Wherever she went, she became the subject of scandal—even now when she was living with her step-brother, Agrippa II,[26] a young, good-looking, talented, versatile Jew who, having been brought up at Rome, had come back to reign as head of the house of Herod—that house of whom one member had become a Christian at Antioch. This Jewish prince arrived, with his striking sister, at Caesarea for a visit of ceremony to the new Roman governor. In the course of their visit, Festus spoke of the impressive prisoner who was awaiting an opportunity to sail to Rome and the Emperor.

Festus explained that Paul had committed no crime: it was simply a matter of Jewish controversy, and, added the sceptical Italian, of "a certain Jesus who had died, and who Paul insisted was alive".[27] "As it was embarrassing for me to conduct an enquiry on such subjects," concluded Festus to Agrippa, "I asked him if he was willing to go to Jerusalem to be tried there on these accusations. But Paul having appealed that his case might be brought before the Emperor, I have given orders to keep him under guard until I send him to Caesar."

"I, too," answered Agrippa, "would have liked to hear what the fellow has to say."

"To-morrow," answered Festus, "you shall hear him."[28]

8

The next morning the Prince and his sister came into the audience room in state, attended by an imposing retinue. The tribunes and the leading personages in the neighbourhood were summoned to do them honour. Festus invited Agrippa and Berenice to take their seats on a place of dignity. Before this assemblage Paul was ordered by Festus to appear. Festus then formally explained that Paul had done nothing worthy of death, but that he had appealed to the Emperor. If he was to appear before the Emperor, however, then the Governor must also send in a report, for how, he asked, can an official send a prisoner to higher authority unless he reports the accusation against him?

The King, turning to the prisoner, signified that he should now speak in his own defence, and as Paul raised his hand, the clang of his chain first broke the waiting silence.

It was in no unworthy scene that he spoke for the last time in his own country to tell the King the significance of his life.

It was before a Roman Governor, before a Prince of the House of Herod the Great who had treated with Antony and with Augustus; it was before the niece of Philo.

"I count myself fortunate, King Agrippa, to have to-day to plead my cause before Your Majesty of all the accusations brought against me by the Jews." So Paul began with that courteous tone which was the natural expression of his Jewish nationality, his sweeping projects, and the lofty tenor of his life. "For you know better than any their customs and their controversies. I ask you therefore to hear me patiently. My life from the early days of my youth has been passed in Jerusalem in the midst of my race: this all the Jews know, if they care to give evidence, having knowledge of me from the first that, according to the strictest party of our religion, I lived as a Parush. And now", he continued, "I am here on trial because I believe in the promises which God made to our fathers: this is the hope for which the Jews accuse me. Now does it seem impossible", he asked, "to a Jew to believe that God can raise the dead?"

He recapitulated his own story: how he had thought it his duty to oppose with all his strength the name of the Nazarene: how he had received authority from the high priests to persecute the Christians: how he had put them under arrest, and by persecution pressed them to abjure their faith, and how he had finally obtained permission to push his persecution beyond Palestine.

Then once more he told his experience in the sands near Damascus: how he had come face to face with Jesus in His dominion and power: how he had become a different man and preached a change of heart and mind. Everywhere he had gone with his message, both to small and great, saying nothing but what the prophets had said, that the Messiah must suffer, and

that, being the first to rise from the grave, He should proclaim light to the Jewish race and to all nations.[29]

As the hall rang with the solemn asseverations of the inspired speaker in his proclamation of the fact on which his faith and his Church were built, Festus felt that, before the power of this man, his own control of the situation was slipping away.

"You are raving, Paul," he shouted; "your long studies have turned you mad."[30]

"I am not raving, Your Excellency," answered the speaker in a tone quieter, but not less firm. "I am speaking the language of truth and discretion. The King is informed about these things and to him I speak with confidence. I am convinced that none of these things is hidden to him: for these things have not been done in a corner out of the way."[31]

Then, turning to the Prince, he spoke with rising force. "Do you believe the prophets, King Agrippa? I know that you believe them."[32]

Agrippa strove, with wit and irony to wrap his feelings from Paul's gaze. "A little more and you would persuade me to be a Christian."

Paul's intense earnestness and warmth overwhelmed the assemblage as he answered: "I would to God, a little more, or much more, but that not only you, Lord King, but all those who hear me were such as I am myself—except for these chains."[33]

Agrippa had heard enough. He rose from his throne, and with him Berenice and Festus and their suite, and passed in procession from the hall. As people of power and cultivation do, after an encounter with a personality of unexpected force, and with issues which invite them to change the current of their lives, they tried to show good will, and yet not too much. "The fellow", they said, "has done nothing to deserve imprisonment, much less execution."[34]

Finally Agrippa, to dismiss the matter, spoke in the same tone to Festus. "This fellow might have been set free if he had not appealed to Caesar."[35]

NOTE.—Those who wish to concentrate on the personal narrative may omit the following chapter.

XX

THE MEANING OF SACRIFICE

1

FEW HAVE WRITTEN ON THE TOPOGRAPHY AND THE CHRONology of St. Paul's life with more authority than Sir William Ramsay. Sir William Ramsay has recorded that in his view Paul, while still at Caesarea, was occupied with preparing a case for his Church, its worship, its doctrine and its way against the Jews who had always troubled him, and at whose instance he had undergone the arrest which kept him at Caesarea. Here we meet the question of a document of the early Church which is of the highest interest. It has been adduced as evidence in several lives of St. Paul, though it is ignored in others: it gives in a style of remarkable power a statement of the Christian way as against that of the temple and the unbelieving Jews, and it reproduces many arguments and considerations on the central problem of Paul's career. We find it in our Bibles as "the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews".

"Are we therefore", asked Ramsay, "to disconnect it absolutely from the Apostle Paul?"[1] To this question he gives an answer a biographer should not ignore:—

"If that were so, it is difficult to see how such a strong body of early opinion should have regarded it as originating indirectly from Paul and as conveying his views about a great crisis in the development of the Church. Clement of Alexandria and Origen, while both recognising that the language is not that of Paul, suggest different theories to account for what they recognise as assured facts—that the views and plans are those of Paul. . . .

"This tradition of a Pauline connection was so strong as to persist even though there was already in the second century a clear perception that the style was not that of Paul. It was common in early manuscripts to place Hebrews in the middle of Paul's epistles, even between Galatians and Ephesians. Origen mentions that 'the primitive writers' were positive as to the connection of Paul with the Epistle. A very ancient tradition, therefore, of the strongest character, guaranteed that Paul stood in some relation to the Epistle."[2]

2

So much for Ramsay. An even greater authority is that of Westcott who says: "There is unquestionably a sense in which Origen is right in saying that the thoughts of the Epistle are the thoughts of St. Paul. The writer shows the same broad conception of the universality of the Gospel as the Apostle of the Gentiles, the same grasp of the age-long purpose of God wrought out through Israel, the same trust in the atoning work of Christ and in his present sovereignty. He speaks with the same conscious mastery of the Divine counsel. But he approaches each topic from a different side."[3]

Westcott died long since. In 1939 an exhaustive work appeared, which shows that Bleek, on whom Westcott based much of his work, had not seen all the authorities: in this new and exhaustive work, Professor Leonard supports with much erudition the unexpected proposal that this epistle may well show what Paul could do, if instead of dictating, he had set out to write his prose in an ordered treatise. Few may accept that: but, at the same time, Professor Leonard offers another proposal which accords with the contentions of Sir William Ramsay: that this epistle has St. Paul behind it, but was written

by another. It may well have been worked out by several others; but this will not exclude his connection with it.

3

And at this point, one may well state three considerations which many theologians have omitted to discuss. The first is that of Ramsay, that if St. Paul's inspiration is denied, it has never been found that the Epistle could be satisfactorily attributed to any other author. The second arises out of this: the writings of St. Paul are the work of a literary genius of the highest order: Hebrews is also the work of a literary genius of the highest order, an order equal, if not superior, to that of St. Paul, as shown in work admittedly his. Which is easier to imagine? That a writer superior to St. Paul arose, wrote this epistle much along the lines of Paul's thought and using many expressions peculiar to him and then completely disappeared leaving no trace behind, or that St. Paul, as the most vigorous and inspiring writer of the time, conceived its broad lines and contributed some of its striking expressions, expressing it perhaps first in Hebrew, while leaving it to others, closer in touch with Alexandrian thought, and feeling the Hebrew view, to mould it into an ordered whole? A Bishop of to-day, if issuing a Pastoral, may give ideas to an able writer, ask the writer with others to compose the Pastoral; and then, with additions and corrections, the Bishop will send it out as his Pastoral. So an Anglican scholar of to-day, the Bishop of Oxford, thinks it may have been in this case. There remains a third question: from whom could the reference to "our brother, Timotheos" come if it were not from those in the immediate circle of Paul, and therefore under the influence of Paul?

It is such considerations as these, joined to a knowledge of

the Italian traffic through Caesarea, which inclined Ramsay to accept Lewis's argument that in an account of Paul's imprisonment at Caesarea, this epistle should not be ignored.[4]

There was no reason why the gifted Apollos himself should not have come over to Caesarea from Ephesus or Corinth. Lucanus, who in such admirable prose gave a redaction of Paul's speeches at Lystra and Athens, was with him. So was Aristarchos. Marcus may well have returned to him. He was not far from Alexandria. A brilliant circle of friends might well have been with him in Caesarea.

Before leaving Judaea for the last time, it would have been natural to him first to plan an address to questioning Jewish Christians, whether at Jerusalem or elsewhere, and send it with a salutation from the Christians travelling to and from Italy. Here then is a reasonable occasion for the Epistle to the Hebrews to have been written. Here were several writers to round the style and order the composition.

This Epistle fully endorses that great cosmic view of redemption which it had been the peculiar vocation of Paul and of him alone to set out for that age: with him it develops in moving and eloquent iteration the power of faith. Like him, it shows a mind crowded with a wealth of life that gives rich and soaring ideas, original and poetic expressions: it shows also that acquaintance with the Book of Wisdom which Paul had shown in *Romans;* like him, it builds up an argument with quotations from impressive passages of Hebrew poetry: indeed, it quotes three particular psalms he had himself quoted elsewhere. In it there are no fewer than 46 words found nowhere but in epistles admittedly written by him.[5]

Like him, it builds up its argument on the grace of faith; it agrees with him in its view of justification, of the place of obedience and hope in relation to faith, and of the redeeming work of Christ. Like him, it treats the Old Testament allegor-

ically: more remarkable than any of these, it shows resemblances to his speech to Agrippa and Festus.[6] It is, above all, because of those resemblances that it is discussed here rather than later.

4

It begins with the most majestic period in the New Testament, and continues its argument with a dignity only equalled by the wealth of expression. It begins with one theme: the pre-excellence of the Christos over the angels, and over Moses. It establishes each by a use of the psalms, which is at once impressive and mystical. It then proceeds to show the Christos pre-excellent over the Jewish priesthood: over the high priest who, in the temple at Jerusalem, made offerings and sacrifices first in the outer court and once a year in the Holy of Holies: for what was the meaning of those great words: "Thou art a priest for ever in the order of Melchizedech"?[7] Before Melchizedech even Abraham had bowed.

"For God, thinking to show more abundantly to the heirs of the promise the immutability of His counsel, introduced an oath that by two immutable things (and among these God could not deceive us) we, who have fled to take hold of the hope that is held out to us, might have strong encouragement: we have as an anchor of the soul, sure and firm, this hope which enters into that sanctuary beyond the veil, into which Jesus had entered for us as a forerunner, having become a high priest for ever in the order of Melchizedech."[8] This hieratic figure, kingly, mysterious, who long before the institution of the Levitical priesthood had come out of the unknown to offer sacrifice of bread and wine, and to whom Abraham had bowed,

had haunted the Hebrew tradition till in a psalm his priestly order suggested both hieratic power and eternity.

"Thou art a priest for ever in the order of Melchizedech." Here was a type more prophetic of the Christos than any Levite. A priest inheriting his tradition from the dawn of time, a priest who was a king presiding more at the altar of mystery than at the throne of power, on this figure the insight of genius fixed with that happy interplay of logic with imagination which was typical of the writings of Paul: "Consider how great a man was he unto whom Abraham the patriarch gave a tenth out of the chief spoils . . . This Melchizedech, King of Salem, priest of God most high, who met Abraham returning from the slaughter of the Kings and blessed him, to whom also Abraham divided a tenth part of all (being first by interpretation King of righteousness, and then also by interpretation King of Salem, which is King of peace; without father, without mother, without degrees of ancestors, having neither beginning of days nor end of life, but made like unto the Son of God abideth a priest continually)."[9] After this great flight, the passage takes (as so often with Paul) a turn of intricate exposition to establish the superiority of the priesthood of Christ in this type above the Levites and the Law:[10] for after the likeness of Melchizedech arises another priest who is born not according to a commandment marred by human weakness but according to the power of a life never to be sundered. This new hieratic power, through His remaining for ever, has an inviolable sacredness of function so that He can save to the uttermost those who come through him to God; He lives for evermore to mediate for us —a high priest, holy, innocent, undefiled, separated from sinners and loftier than the heavens. Such was the figure of the kingly and mysterious hierophant who officiated for men among eternal things.

5

The order of Melchizedech did not exclude the more familiar idea of Levitical priesthood. For the Christ completed that also; just as He was more excellent than the angels, so He was more excellent than the house of Aaron; Aaron was the minister of an earthly sanctuary, he officiated in a tabernacle pitched not by the Lord but by man. The Levites ministered on earth from day to day. But the Christ, as He had obtained a name more excellent than the angels, had obtained also a ministry more excellent than the Levites; He was the mediator of a better contract established by law on better promises. Such a promise had been boldly pronounced by Jeremiah. "I will put my laws in their mind, and in their hearts will I write them, and they shall be my people and I shall be their God."[11]

6

The next points dealt with are those Mosaic sacrifices which had survived from tent to temple. "What was the mystery signified by the slaughter of animals, this shedding of blood, but that the Christ, having come as a high priest of good things to come, of a greater and more perfect tabernacle not made with hands, that is to say not of this creation, nor yet through the blood of goats and calves, but through His own blood, entered in once for all into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption?" [12] The Jews had hoped for some real expiation from these crude slaughters. "How much more shall the blood of Christ who through the eternal Spirit offered Himself without blemish unto God cleanse your conscience from dead works to serve the living God?"[13]

That was the gist of it all: this ritual of blood meant the outpouring of the very principle of life that in it the death inherent in sin might be swallowed up in life. So was applied in the imagery of the temple the doctrine of a living sacrifice, the outpouring of life and blood that others might live; this doctrine, that the Christ, in His life and His blood, was the supreme example of love and giving, had already been set out at Corinth for the Romans. There the doctrine was stated: "while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us. Much more then—being now set right in the eyes of God in His blood—shall we be saved."[14] Now for the Jews particularly, the same idea was set in other terms: "Once in the final harmony of the ages, hath He been manifested to annul sin by the sacrifice of Himself."[15] In either case men were to attain to the saving goodness by receiving the selfless outpouring of a heart that loved them.

"The scriptural idea of blood", says Westcott, "is essentially an idea of life and not of death . . . the blood poured out is the energy of present human life made available for others."[16] By taking human flesh and blood to Himself, the Messiah made it possible to offer it as a perfect sacrifice of obedience; through His obedience, perfected even in death, the Christ could offer up humanity. His blood is the blood of sprinkling which quickens each believer, and it is also not only a means of consecration for each believer but for the race a new relation to God: "its hallowing, cleansing power reaching to all things with which man has contact".[17]

7

The idea of sacrifice was not merely Jewish, it was fixed in all the known religions—as the moon is fixed in the sky of

night. It meant not merely an unselfish effort, not merely a duty and a service: it meant in all countries—and so it had meant for thousands of years—the idea of offering an outward and visible gift to the mysterious Power or Powers—which the Jews knew to be One—to attract His attention, to appeal to His mercy, to symbolise the veneration felt for His power, and finally as a means of sharing in His mystery. "Sacrifice is the navel of the world" said one of the Indian Vedas. It was the cord by which the life of the unseen power was conveyed to the feeble dependence of men. Such was the idea which in India inspired the Brahmins among the palms and cities of the Ganges: such among the plateaux and mountains of Persia was the worship associated with the contest between Ahuramazda and Ahriman and commemorated in the feats of Mithra, son of the morning and lord of hosts: such were the gifts presented in the book *Li-ki* among the yellow people of China to be offered on the altar of heaven in Pekin; such, where the Nile brought from Abyssinia to Egypt its wealth of silt and water, was the necessity which led the people who had built the pyramids to offer gifts to Ammon Ra; such among both subtle Greeks and powerful Romans was the idea which led them to offer to Zeus, to Pallas or to Aphrodite the libation of wine, and the perfume of incense from the altar in the marble temple, or the grove of ilex.

It was the idea of sacrifice which led the women of Argos to the wooded seclusion of Epidauros to make in the round temple of Asklepias their humble sacrifices of fowls or cakes as a sign of thanksgiving for a cure.[18] It was the idea of sacrifice which impelled a Hellene after an earthquake or a stormy voyage to offer the votive tablet which he called an anathema before the statue of Hermes or the Dioskuroi, or even to the "Divine Inspiration" and the "Eternal Time".[19]

Sacrifice was the idea which, in the crude rite of the tauro-

bolium, led the devotees of Mithra and of Ma to lie naked under the scaffold where a steer was being slaughtered that they might be stained in its blood.[20]

Such among the Hebrews whom Paul knew was the impulse which moved men to offer their *minchah,* sometimes of wine or grain, but more often of bird or animal slain in the temple, because the life of the creature was symbolised in its blood. The word *blood* therefore to Paul had always the intense sense of the power and mystery by which men live. Was it not written in Leviticus: *The life is the blood.*

To the Hebrew the idea of sacrifice had been familiar from the time of Moses. When the Jews were a nomad tribe, to them as to the nomads of the desert a meat meal was a rare treat. But always they had been enjoined to abstain from eating the meat with the blood. The blood was sacred to the Lord!

The first Shaul had built an altar where the animals could be slaughtered and drained of the blood: the same Shaul at an earlier day had joined with the prophet Samuel to eat of the feast thus made. And so from the beginning the idea of sacrifice was associated with the idea of a feast which was a common feast of brotherhood among the feasters, and which implied a communion with the Almighty to whom the life—in the blood —had already been offered.[21]

The Hebrews had several kinds of offering: in the *peace offering,* the blood was thus offered, with certain portions of the fat which was burnt. But even before the Jews had gone into exile in Babylon, they had also offered up, in the burnt-offering, a whole animal to be burnt by fire—in what the Greeks called a holokaust. When they came back from Babylon and elaborated their worship, in their sense of penitence and humiliation, the Jews added to this a sin-offering and a trespass-offering. The trespass-offering, or guilt-offering, was a form of restitution for injuries done to another man. The sin-

offering became the most general of the offerings. In this the flesh was burnt away from the altar, and what of it was consumed was eaten only by the priests. Yet none of them could atone for that sin which was a deliberate and conscious rebellion against God's law: "for the soul which doeth aught with a high hand, whether he be home born or a stranger, the same blasphemeth the Lord and that soul shall be cut off from among His people".[22] Rather was it the idea of sacrifice that he who through his defects, whether weakness, negligence or ignorance, had fallen short, should offer a gift that would make the life of the giver at one with the Giver of Life. Sacrifice is an outward and visible sign in which man, to pay his dues to God and attain his end, symbolises his renunciation of evil and seeks good with an offering which, if accepted and sanctified by God, will be a means of communion with God.

8

Joining, therefore, the crude drama of the slaughter-house with the idea of feasting and with that of the sacred law, which was the means of union with the Most High, the universal idea of sacrifice was established in Israel.

When Shaul, in the long travail of learning by heart, was learned in the piety and the wisdom of his people, he accepted it. It was the ritual which accompanied the poetry of Israel, and that too linked him with the traditions of ancient Asia, with the wisdom of the Egyptians, and at last with the metaphysical wisdom of Athens and the Hellenists. So the young Israelite of Tarsus was the heir not only of a literature at once personally and mysteriously sublime, but of a tradition both of worship and wisdom which had come from many centuries and many lands, a wisdom which gave the mind of man an

opening into all wisdom and all knowledge, and took him up through many scales of being into the secrets of the Unseen and of the Divine.

And here, at last, in the death of Christ and in the sacrament which shows it forth, Paul read the story of all effort and all sacrifice. For we live only by life and ease being given up. The very meat of our festive banquets comes from the slaughter-house: the love in which life is generated is a drama of joy and pain: this age of machines does not provide apparent ease and regularity of life for the many without inflicting on others the sordid monotony of factory life. For all things a price is fixed: the finest treasures are never bought for nothing. In every life there is a pathos and a travail: and this is its song of honour.

The heart does not cease to feel, nor love to link with life, when man looks through life and death into eternal things. The gold with which we buy this communion with heaven is still sacrifice. Such was the background both of the writer's ritual life as an Israelite in the temple, and of his life as a minister and steward of the Church. "Almost all things", he wrote, "are by the law purged with blood: and without shedding of blood is no remission. It was therefore necessary that the symbols which suggest the reality in the heavens should be purified with these, but the heavenly things themselves with better sacrifices than these. For Christ entered not into holy places made with hands, the antitype of the true ones, but into heaven itself, now for our sakes to appear before the face of God.[23]

9

Such thoughts as these do much to harmonise the two phases of Paul's zeal: and they do so through the hallowed

poetry Paul had learnt in youth. It had spoken of burnt-offerings and sin-offerings being less than unity with the will of God in that mysterious and intricate intermingling of sense and soul, a body, beating with its blood;[24] he found that body and that blood afresh in the communion of the new mysteries,[25] by which came the grace and peace of Christ's hallowing life within him: "having, therefore, brethren, boldness to use the entrance into the holy place in the blood of Jesus, the entrance which He inaugurated for us, as a fresh and living way through the veil—that is the way of His flesh; and having a great priest over the house of God, let us draw near with a true heart in fulness of faith, having sprinkled our hearts from an evil conscience and having laved our bodies in pure water":[26] so did the sacramental mysteries complete the explanation of the ritual act of the high priest.[27] So, therefore, the writer could say: "We have an altar at which they who serve the tent have no right to eat"[28]: for as Leo the Great was to say afterwards, "Christ was the high priest not of the temple but of the world to come".[29]

Writing to recalcitrant Corinthians, Paul had written: "he who drinks of that cup unworthily drinks to himself damnation being guilty of the Lord's blood".[30] So here it is asked: "to how much sorer punishment is he condemned who tramples under foot the Son of God and deems the blood of the testament in which he has been made holy a common thing, and pours scorn upon the Spirit of grace?"[31] Such sacrilege demands God's fiery vengeance. "It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God".[32]

The expressions are changed: but are we to think that the thought, the energy, the passion, the genius of Paul had nothing whatever to do with it?

10

The Epistle now hymns from the ancient story of Israel the triumphs of faith. Abel, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Daniel, Samuel and the prophets, what was their valour but the record and pæan of faith? It was a story like Paul's own: mockings, scourgings, bonds, imprisonment, stonings, temptations: they were slain with the sword: they went about in sheepskins, in goatskins: being destitute, afflicted, ill-treated, wandering in deserts, and on mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth[33]—yet all this was not enough, their faith bore them witness of a promise yet to come, "God having foreseen some better thing concerning us, that apart from us they should not be made perfect".[34]

11

We have seen how again and again Paul had used the metaphor of sport. Now this epistle, in its insistence on the need of heroism, returns to the thought of the athlete stripping for the race, in the crowded arena, and with this thought of nakedness and effort subtly connects a reference occurring more than once to the Spartan discipline of endurance which Jew and Greek alike received from those who loved them. "For whom the Lord loveth He chastens, and uses the whip on every son whom He receives."[35] "Therefore let us also, having so great a cloud of witnesses hanging about us, lay aside every impediment and the sin which cloaks us round. Let us run with hard effort the race that is set before us, looking direct to the Jesus who, as captain of the games, the starter and prize-giver of the faith, who for the joy that was set before Him, endured the cross, despising its shame and has sat down

at the right hand of the throne of God, lest you weary, slackening in your souls; for in your combat with sin, you have not yet fought till the blood flows—and remember the encouraging words—for I speak to you like boys with warmer encouragement—it is for mastery that you endure: for the father of our spirits chastens us for our profit, that we may be partakers of His holiness."[36] Moses had trembled on Mount Sinai: but you, says the writer, "are come to Mount Sion and the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, an innumerable host of angels in festive assembly, and to the Church of the firstborn enrolled in heaven and to God the judge of all, and to the spirits of righteous men made perfect, and to Jesus, the Mediator of the New Testament, and to the sprinkling of His blood which speaks better things than that of Abel."[37]

The combination of Hellenist and Hebrew which was the ripe fruit of the Alexandrian tradition could not have been expressed with a power, a fervour and poetry more typical of Paul than this passage, impassioned and sublime.

"Follow after holiness without which no man shall see the Lord."[38] That objurgation which was the theme of every epistle written by Paul was repeated here with those injunctions, those citations both so typical of his method till he summed up his message afresh in the moving words of the final adjuration:

"The God of peace who brought from the dead, our Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good thing to do his will, working in you that which is well-pleasing in His sight through Jesus Christ to whom be glory for ever and ever."[39]

Such then in a majesty of order which is unique, and a rounded splendour of style beyond what Paul alone attained even in those passages which show him a master, is the epistle which when first mentioned by Origen was connected with his name and which (not *entirely* without reason—as we have seen) remains in our Bible as *The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews.*

And surely it would have been strange if a mind to which symbolism and allegory were so congenial, which was at once so incisive and so mystical, had not reflected about the central rites of temple worship in Jerusalem in their relation to the sacrifice of Christ once and for all offered and yet remaining in undiminished fulness to be applied to the souls in Christ's body in those central and holy mysteries where bread and wine are offered on the Altar to set forth the Lord's death. For to that bread, changed because it was consecrated, Paul applied the words of the Christ: THIS IS MY BODY, and of that wine he asked "THE CHALICE OF BLESSING WHICH WE BLESS, IS NOT THIS THE COMMUNION OF THE BLOOD OF CHRIST?"

The Christ was his high priest over the house of God: a priest for ever in the order of Melchizedech.[40]

XXI

THROUGH WRECK TO ROME

1

WHEN HE LEFT CAESAREA THE LIFE OF CHRIST'S ENVOY abruptly changed. From his great preoccupation with the relation of his Church to the Temple and the Law, from harrowing by fanatical Jews, from the life of a man under guard in the summers and winters of the coast of Palestine, from speaking before a governor and a king, his drama now turns back to that struggle with wind and waves which had so often endangered him in the long years of his travel, and once drove him to spend a night and a day in the deep. It is thus that he has an opportunity to revisit at Sidon the adherents of the Church: it is thus that at a far island he was to manifest his gifts in relation to a serpent and a storm; but his story is now a sailor's story; and yet another side of this remarkable man is seen when he shows an instinct for the sea which far excelled that of the captain of the ship in which he sailed.[1]

2

The story is one a seaman understands in his own language.[2] They went on board a ship which had been sailing down from Edremid; casting off from the wharf they made all sail, keeping in close to the Syrian shore, and after their day in Sidon, got under weigh again, and beat up along the shore of Cyprus with the wind dead ahead. They then got a fair slant over the sea between Cyprus and Perga, and put into Myra, two miles

inland from the mouth of the Andraki, which was then a little port sheltered by hills.

At Myra the Roman Centurion in charge found an Egyptian ship which sailed from Alexandria over a halcyon sea and was now bound for Italy. This second ship, either because she was what sailors call "a slow old tub", or because they struck that season of dead calm common in those seas in late October, made many days of the passage to Crete so that as they fetched Crete there were signs of change in the sky and, as they could not weather Crete, they ran down to leeward of it till they reached Salmone; hauling upon a taut bowline, so that they first passed to windward of it, they ran into a little harbour called Fairhaven, not far from Lasea. They had by now made a long voyage of it, the season of calm had gone by, and Paul knew what squalls over a rising sea were only too likely to mean.

Calling all hands to the after part of the boat where the passengers—no less than 276—were gathered: "Gentlemen," he said, "I can see that if we sail on longer now, it will not be without damage and cost, not only to the freight and the ship, but to us and our lives".[3] A choice already of life and death on that waveless sea: such was the issue with which Paul faced them.

The Egyptian sailors, however, with the careless confidence of well-fed men, thought they knew more of the sea than a Jewish Rabbi travelling as a chained prisoner: and the centurion, not unnaturally, believed the craftsmen. Nevertheless, many had qualms; and after much discussion the majority, some because they were impressed by Paul, some because of reluctance for risks, decided that they had better try to fetch in to Phenice, a little Cretan port with two channels—one to the north-west, the other to the south-west of its little haven. When, therefore, a southerly breeze sprang up, they got under

weigh and kept along the Cretan shore: but Paul's forebodings were about to be vindicated: before long the wind hauled round to the northward, and from thence, drawn by the heat of the Sahara, it began to blow with rising force. As soon as the hurricane struck the ship they found they could not lay up to the wind; they drew up the helm and scudded before it: getting under the lee of the islet called Clauda, they had hard work to haul up the boat they had been towing alongside. But finally they hoisted her up to the davits, and passed belly lashings around the ship to thrap her together: then, in fear they would be driven down on the Syrtis, towards the coast of Cyrene, they clewed up and furled everything and let the ship run before the storm, the decks cleared and the masts bare.

Each day Paul's prophecy was realised more clearly. Winds blew harder: and the tumult of the sea became a terror; the frightened crew pulled themselves together to heave overboard some of the cargo. The day after that, the wind increasing yet further, they flung overboard any gear they could spare. And still the gale blew under a sky so heavy that they could get neither a meridian altitude nor a lunar observation, nor track their way by the stars; as they scudded on beneath a wild, dark sky, the storm blew away their last hopes of life. A thousand billows heaped their menace over a bark driven unceasingly over the restless sea. The wind roared on under the vast night; and as the ship pitched on through the waves, the wretched travellers were battered by the roll and pitch of the ship. They lay inert, exhausted, chilled, in a horror of misery and uncleanness. If from time to time a sailor staggered to the deck, he saw a sight that appalled him. A myriad of surging movements, each part and portion of a vaster motion, actuated by the tyranny of the storm, gave in every direction an aspect of complex and overwhelming anger.

According to a common notion of the time, the elements

were the abode of powers of the air. The tumult of cloud and wind and water suggested to a terrified mind that these powers had burst into maniac fury. The whole surface of the sea had become one dizzy whirl of rushing, writhing, tortured rage: the bellying waves coiled, bounded and crashed in an anarchy of titanic but wanton convulsions. Paul was familiar with the terrors of the sea; but never had they borne on him so to appal, to buffet and to exhaust him. Panic was all around, mixed with bitterness and cursing: the terror of darkness was but increased when through the whistle and scream of the wind, the darkness was riven by impetuous lightning. Starving and exhausted by the effect of sickness, sickened by the panic and blasphemy around him, and completely ignorant of his whereabouts, the worn traveller was as exhausted and humiliated as by the torment of the scourge. His character and genius were utterly worn down.[4]

3

Then suddenly, out of the darkness of the night, there shone that lambent and piercing brilliance which more than once had visited him in distress, as it had changed long since in the sand above Damascus the current of his life. He felt himself again in the presence of a power he could no more question than withstand. Before it, the very torment of the sea seemed to lose its significance. And as he was aware of a presence, so he was aware of a voice which told him that over the wind and tempest his God was master, and would lead him to Rome and to the Emperor. Not a soul in that ship should drown.

This gave a new and supernatural strength to Paul. He waited through the night, invigorated and serene. In the morning, he was able to press on captain and crew the soundness of

his judgment. They had learnt from the damage to the ship and the cost of cargo thrown overboard that his words were worth listening to: he told them now that they need not give up hope; if they kept up their courage they might count that, whatever happened to the boat, all on board would come safe to land.

"For in the night", he said, "the angel of the God whom I serve and who is my Master stood beside me saying: 'Have no fear, Paul, for you are to come before the Emperor: and God has given you as His gift all who travel with you.' So be of good heart, gentlemen, for I have faith in God that He will do as it has been declared to me: but the ship will come to ground on some island."[5]

4

For a fortnight more, they were knocked about in the gales in the sea at the mouth of the Adriatic. At last, one night just about the beginning of the first watch, the look-out on the fore-castle saw that the water was shoaling. They took soundings and got twenty fathoms: at the next sounding they got fifteen. It was to keep the ship from foundering on the rocks they let down four anchors, and held on for daylight.

Some of the crew, when they had the boat down in the water, pretending to kedge anchor to midward, thought this would give them their chance to desert: but Paul pointed out to the Centurion and his soldiers that if the sailors left the ship no one could possibly be saved. Taking his advice, the soldiers cut the boat's painter and let her drop free.

At daybreak, Paul told them all to take a meal, pointing out that for a whole fortnight they had had no nourishment. "And so", he said, "I strongly advise you to take some food,

for this is essential to your being saved: and not a hair of your heads shall be lost."

Then, before them all, he gave thanks as he had learnt to do and received the broken bread. And at this all took heart, and all refreshed themselves. And when they had eaten enough, they felt stronger and threw the cargo into the sea. It was daylight now, and they were near an island, what it was they knew not, but one little inlet gave them calm water for a landing. They hauled up the anchors, slacked the rudder braces, let fall the mainsail, and ran the ship head on for the inlet. At the mouth of it, however, there was a bar on which the bow of the ship ran aground while the stern was knocked to pieces by the breakers which writhed around and struck upon her failing timbers. While the morning air was whitened by the swirling spray that rose from the crest of the waves into the wind like shreds of torn sheets in the flight and fury of the wind, the breakers swirled around the wreck or crashed on the neighbouring rocks.

The Roman soldiers were not less brutal than the storm: their counsel was to kill the prisoners whom the angry weather had spared, lest any of them should swim ashore and escape. The Centurion, however, who had been well disposed to Paul from the beginning, having learnt to trust him entirely, gave other and better orders. The swimmers he said could strike out for the shore while the others held on to planks, ladders and broken pieces of the ship. And it was done accordingly. In the evening, as Paul had promised, every one of the 276 in the ship came safe to land.[6]

5

The mysterious source of fortitude which had enabled Paul to overcome seasickness, fear and exhaustion, and take a lead

at a critical moment to give not only moral support but the counsels of common sense, and which had vindicated his earlier judgments, was the strength which had come to him from his vision in the night; nor could the mystery of sustaining power desert him when, safe from the threatening sea, he faced the islanders among whom he was cast. As rain poured down, to add its misery of wet to the chilly blast of the wind, he gathered brushwood and sticks to heap upon the fire which the inhabitants had kindled to comfort them against the bitter weather.

As he did so he was able, in a new drama of danger, to impress those around him. Hidden in one of the branches which he had picked up was a snake. As he brought the wood to the heat, the snake wriggled from it to coil round his hand, and hung from it with forked tongue and the threat of death.

In such signs, the naïf islanders saw the judgment of the eternal powers. Clearly, they said, this man is a murderer, for after he has been saved from the sea, justice forbids him to live. But Paul shook the serpent into the fire and showed no sign of hurt, while the islanders waited for him to swell up and die. Still they watched: and still finding him well, they changed their minds and said he was a god. Sir William Ramsay reminds us that the Maltese viper is not poisonous; but surely the islanders should have known the danger of their own snakes![7]

Nor was this the only incident by which Paul impressed the hospitable inhabitants. At the house of a certain Publius, who took a lead both in government and in kindness, Paul healed his host's father of combined malaria and dysentery. This gave him a name which spread over the whole island so that all who were ailing came to him for cure. And they received it. Sir William Ramsay reminds us again that Paul had in his com-

pany a physician, and this modest physician tells the story; but it is the same physician who credits Paul with miracles several times.

6

Thus three months went by, and spring weather brought back sailing to the calmed waves: the sailors of a ship which had sailed direct from Alexandria under the sign of "The Great Twin Brethren" and which had sheltered in one of the Maltese harbours (for it was Malta on which the shipwrecked company had landed), saw that a favourable speed ruffled the mirrored masts. In the calm waters of the Maltese inlet the breeze blew warm from the south: to this ship the wrecked company were now transferred: sailing on through the Straits of Messina, past Syracuse and Reggio, past Scylla and Charybdis, they made a rapid voyage to that translucent water in the Bay of Naples, where Shelley later saw old palaces and towers

> Quivering within the waves' intenser day.[8]

Virgil had related with what contentment Aeneas, after his long journey, touched the soil of Italy. Paul had come both from Troy and from Damascus to see more beauty than Aeneas could have surveyed; for to hill and plain, to tilth and woodland, to olive, aloe, maize and vine, was now added the marble palace, the brick viaduct and arch, the rounded splendour of building which the Romans had set up in the rich blue Italian day. Among these Paul brought what he himself called "the glorious evangel of the blessed God".[9]

How different was this smiling land—pearly already with the bloom of almonds — from the biscuit-coloured islet on which he had been cast up by the raging storm! Here earth in

the mild harmonies of blue and rose held the beauty of Hellas without its austerity. Paul travelled on towards Rome by that Via Appia which Statius called the queen of the great imperial roads.[10] As he came near to his journey's end, he received a great consolation. The Saints of Rome (for thus he called those who had received the graces of the Holy Spirit) came out to meet him at the marbled courts of Appius and led him onwards with joy. Among enthusiastic Christians, he entered the imperial city with a forestaste of the veneration which his name was to receive through the ages. And here, after consoling and encouraging the Christians, he turned his mind to the two remaining problems: how to impress the Romans; how to reconcile the Jews.

The Roman scene is highly significant and singularly noble. It is a genial earth where Apollo's summer look comes early, through brilliant but delicate light: for the Roman air is as suave as it is transparent. Monte Mario direct above the Tiber, Soracte, gently rising in the distance, steep over the lakes of Nemi and Albano the Alban hills marked the skyline beyond the wide sweep of the Campagna: an everlasting wash of air played then, as it plays now, upon the walls of Rome. The Mediterranean umbrella pine, the olive, the cypress, the myrtle and the ilex spread their unwithering green over a light of laughing flowers as the anemone and the iris succeeded the jonquil and the violet; laburnum flowered after the peach tree and the pear; vines spread their tendrils along the trellised arbours: and as the sun warmed, the winding of the cicalas among the grass mingled with the murmur of innumerable bees, while lizards slept on the warm stone, before nightingales poured their clear notes to moon and stars.

Already at Rome, architecture recorded the sense of Empire; the long aqueduct, the triumphal arch, the rounded temple, the marble colonnade, prepared already for the towering brick-

work of the baths of Caracalla and Diocletian to speak of the wide beneficence of the government of Augustus and his house. Sculpture already attested the strength and dignity of Roman character. Here everywhere was both expressed and felt the immense majesty of the Roman peace. Such was the Italy Paul had so long and eagerly planned to reach. Such was the civilisation to which he had become a debtor.[11]

7

The City of Rome meant more and showed more than any of her provinces. Whosoever aspired to play a part in great affairs was bound to come there, and that inspired instinct which led Paul to Rome meant for him, said Renan, an event almost as decisive as his conversion. It was indeed of pregnant significance that the Christ Himself had promised "As thou hast borne witness for Me in Jerusalem, so shalt thou bear witness for Me in Rome!"[12]

As they approached the walls of the eternal city, Julius the Centurion led his prisoner to the *Castra Praetoriana* which Sejanus had built near the Via Nomentana, and handed him over to the prefect of the praetorium.[13] Those who appealed to the Emperor were considered his personal prisoners, and kept in custody by the Imperial Guard. At this time, there was a single prefect of the guard, Afranius Burrhus, and he a man of unusually noble character. Paul was still chained—chained to a *frumentarius*[14]—but this did not prevent him moving about or speaking as he wished: and he was able before long to live in his own lodging.

How was he to proceed? The little body of enthusiasts who had welcomed him on the road from Naples had not been converted in the synagogue. They were rather traders from the

East, men who had come up to the imperial capital from Ostia or Pozzuoli and had little to do with the large colony of Jews: for these were more than 20,000, and had an important synagogue.[15] Yet before these Paul must proclaim his evangel. They were still the chosen people to whom were given the covenant, the promises, the prophets, the hope of salvation. He arranged that certain of the rabbis should come and see him. When they came he stated his case with his accustomed subtlety. He had come to Rome, he said, to appeal to the Emperor: not that he had profaned the Law, still less that he had any design of accusing the people: "but if I wish to see you or speak to you", he said, "it is for the reason that I wear a chain, because dear to me above all is the hope of Israel".[16] Thus did he introduce his theme: the Christos and the Resurrection.

So far his course was favourable enough. The Jews had heard nothing against him personally, and were curious to hear what a pupil of Gamaliel had to say about a movement which had aroused opposition in every quarter.[17]

On the day fixed for him to speak, a considerable number of Jews came to his lodging. He spoke for hour on hour, seeking to show both from Moses and the Prophets that the Messiah of which they spoke was no other than the Jesus whom he knew: that the kingdom they expected was no other than the Church. Some were persuaded: others incredulous: and so they left him.

8

At this new experience of suspicion and contrariety which he could not but contrast with the esteem in which he had been held by the Maltese, and the prestige he had gained among his company on the two ships on which he had sailed through such

great dangers, he saw that it was not for nothing that he had been sent to preach Christ to the nations. Was it not already signified by his favourite Isaiah in the Septuagint he had read so long ago and all his life?

> This people's heart is waxed gross
> And their ears are dull of hearing,
> And their eyes they have closed,
> Lest haply they should perceive with their eyes,
> And hear with their ears,
> And understand with their heart,
> And should turn again,
> And I should heal them.[18]

He had written some of that already in his Epistle to the Romans, of which, of course, the unconverted Jews had heard nothing. He had learnt that those words were more than once on the lips of the Christ Himself: but this saving action of God is sent, so Paul warned them with angry emphasis, "as a message to the nations: and *they* will hear".[19]

Such were the last words we hear falling direct from the lips of Paul. They mark the fact that from henceforward his centre was in Rome, and not Jerusalem: among the nations, and not in his own tribe.

Meanwhile he had won the way to Rome: for two whole years he remained in a house which he rented, and none disturbed him as with confidence, under the Roman sun, he announced that Kingdom of God and that universality of the Church, which the triumph of Augustus had made easier to understand, but which were yet so much more potent than the Empire that they could transform it and shine beyond it to regions which no Caesar ever knew.

XXII

NEW PROBLEMS

1

FROM THIS TIME ON ALL DIRECT CHRONICLE OF PAUL'S LIFE ceases. The sources which remain have all been the subject of debate. Nevertheless, even if the evidence has been contested, certain statements remain, and furnish the best indication of how Paul lived his remaining years.

Apart from much in the field of archæology, a little of this evidence is in the record of others. Much also remains in epistles which bear the name of Paul, which were for centuries accepted by all as his work, and which no one has been able to prove were either written by him at an earlier date, or written later by another.[1] The majority of scholars agree with a tradition which they harmonise with a statement of Eusebius: that Paul was set free and travelled again.[2]

Nero, at the centre of an august system, owed his throne to crime, and grew to be a monster. But at the first he was more capricious than malign.[3] In dealing with Paul he endorsed the law which gave immunity to Jews. So Paul, secure because he was a Jew, was able to say once more that the Messiah of Israel was the hope of all men.

Freed at last, therefore, by the supreme authority of the Empire, the diplomatist of grace could now make freer plans than ever before. He had for years cherished the hope of preaching in Spain, and his disciple, Clement of Rome, tells us that he travelled to the limits of the West. It is true that no Church in the Western Mediterranean or in Spain has any tradition of a visit of Paul, but there is no other evidence

against this assertion. It is therefore reasonable to think that the mission he had conducted on either side of the Aegean was now taken along the shores of Italy and Provence to the wilder lands of the Iberian peninsula, and that to suit their hardihood and independence Paul learnt new methods of approach.[4]

2

Did he also travel back to the Aegean? Before we can answer that, we must face those who deny that Paul wrote the letters which stand in his name in the Bible, two addressed to Timotheos, one to Titus. This denial was taken up first by Baur a hundred years ago, after that by Renan, and later still by Moffat. It was stated with fascinating and ingenious skill by Dr. Harrison in 1921, in a work which put that of his predecessors into the shade. Yet argument is another thing from proof. The fact remains that many scholars still accept Paul's authorship of these Epistles: nor, in spite of the valiant efforts of Dr. Harrison, have they found any suitable occasion for them in the narrative of St. Paul's life before his first arrival in Rome.

The argument that St. Paul wrote these epistles was best put by Dean Plummer. The difficulties involved in the assumption that the epistles are wholly or partly a forgery are not less serious than those which have been urged against the well-established tradition of their genuineness. The very strong evidence in their favour has to be accounted for. "It is already clear, full and decided as soon as we could expect to find it."[5]

The arguments against Paul's authorship come under two heads: first that they show a Church much more highly organised than Paul knew: but there is no proof that the Church was not organised under overseers before he died, and there were

certainly deacons.[6] The statement therefore is arbitrary. It is no argument against these epistles that, written to particular friends of St. Paul, ministering in his absence, they contain evidence not found elsewhere: on the contrary, this is an argument that they were genuine. For a forger would not dare to be original. The second argument—advanced by Dr. Harrison with tireless industry—is that based on the number of expressions peculiar to them.[7] But though Dr. Harrison's contentions impressed Dr. Lock, this scholar—when later he wrote his commentary on these Epistles—still left the authorship of Paul uncontested.[8] And, remarkable as is the number of peculiar expressions, their number greatly declines when we see those already found in the Septuagint, or used in another grammatical form in the other epistles. "There is", says Dr. Lock, "no word impossible to St. Paul, no word not natural to him . . . much change of vocabulary, including even particles, is due to the kind of letter, not argumentative, not written to Churches nor to private friends but to close, intimate fellow-workers."[9] And something may be due to the amanuensis: for of the words not found in other epistles, 34 are in St. Luke.

But the method of assessment as chosen by Dr. Harrison, the argument from the use of unusual expressions, has lost its vogue among literary authorities. Scholars no longer apply to Homer or to Shakespeare the incredulities of fifty and a hundred years ago. It has been reserved for certain clergy to cling to a fashion of scepticism which laymen long since discarded. The scholars of to-day should no longer be mesmerised by the Teutonic methods which seemed impressive fifty years ago. Early in the century Sir William Ramsay issued a salutary warning:—"At present, as we are struggling to throw off the fetters which impeded thought in the nineteenth century, it is most important to free ourselves from its prejudices and its narrowness.

"The age and the people of whatever nationality whose most perfect expression and greatest hero was Bismarck, are a dangerous guide to the twentieth century. In no age and country has brute force and mere power to kill been so exclusively regarded as the one great aim of a nation, and the justification to a place in the Parliaments of Man, as in Europe during the latter part of the nineteenth century, and in no age and country has the outlook upon the world been so narrow and so rigid among the students of history and ancient letters."[10]

To put shortly the question of the Pastoral Epistles, we find that among the generation to whom they were given they were not questioned. The case against them was at no time taken as proved. The majority of scholars have rejected it through the centuries, and reject it still.[11] The common sense which scouts the notion that books so deeply venerated and so generally admired for the soundness and goodness of their teaching, were the work of impostors is vindicated by the scrutiny of specialists, and receives a further endorsement when we apply the tests of a biographer. We may take it safely, then, that after his first imprisonment in Rome, Paul returned to the Aegean.

3

Apart from these letters to Timotheos and to Titus, there are two Epistles which by their personal references fit closely together, which were written from prison—there is no mention in either of them of Rome. In one of them Paul spoke of being in chains, and being an old man. It has been argued most ably that, like the *Letter to the Philippians*, they were written from Ephesus during St. Paul's first long stay there, while he was in difficulty with the Corinthians. Scholars as a whole have not accepted this argument either; but neither have they disproved

(Victoria and Albert Museum)

ST. PAUL AND THE VIPER

From a mural of the XII Century in Canterbury Cathedral.
Drawing reproduction by kind permission of Professor E. W. Tristram

(Lubinski)

VIA APPIA—"QUEEN OF THE IMPERIAL ROADS" TO ROME

it: nor can they undermine the conjecture that if, after his first visit to Rome, Paul was again in Asia Minor, he might again have been arrested there and written these two Epistles then.[12]

But why suppose this? The reason is that the writer is asking a friend in Chonas to prepare him a lodging, for he hoped shortly to arrive. It seems unlikely that he should hope shortly to arrive in the depths of Asia Minor if he were a prisoner in Rome. And why should Timotheos, the Bishop of Ephesus, be with him in Rome? Had Marcus with Cephas also found his way there? To these questions no answer has been returned.

Nevertheless, we must admit that the weight of opinion still, as in the past, inclines to the idea that both these letters were written from Rome. In support of this is the fact that both Lucanus and Aristarchos were with Paul. And there are so many of the same people mentioned in both of them, that it seems they were written much at the same time. But if we cannot picture precisely how or where Paul wrote these letters, their object and their views are not the less clear. One of them is a personal letter to a particular man, Philemon, of whom Paul heard great things. His faith and love had a power to attract and work on others: they refreshed men of holiness: they were to Paul a well of joy and consolation.[13]

Yet into the friendship of Paul with this admirable convert, a dramatic episode had entered. Paul had converted a slave who, after robbing Philemon, had run away from him. This slave, by a curious irony, bore the name of Onesimos which, being translated, means profitable.[14]

Now Paul was determined not to keep the runaway with him lest a good Christian should be outraged: he must treat the robbed master as one gentleman would treat another: so he sent the slave back—converted, "not now as a servant but as much more than a servant, a brother, dear especially to me, but how much more unto thee, brother in the flesh and in the

Lord"[15]—both, that is to say as one you have long known, and now greet in the fellowship of the faith. "If you count me as a partner, receive him as myself. If he has done you any wrong, or is in debt to you, put that to my account. I, Paul, write with my own hand I will repay it: though I need not add what you owe to me, the soul which is your inmost self. Relying on your obedience I write, knowing that you will do all I say, and more."[16] Here, in its warmth, its tact and its sense of Christians being one in their oneness in Christ and His Holiness, is a picture of the courtesy of the aged saint toward one of those friends to whom he wrote as a sharer in their joy.

4

Yet from Philemon and the volcanic valley of the Lycus, disquieting reports had reached him. It was a wild region often shaken by earthquakes: geysers strengthened the people's belief in demons and mysterious powers. The nearness of Ionia linked them with old philosophy, that of Phrygia with extravagant speculations. The Christians there had been converted by Epaphras. It had been hard for them, as it has since been hard for many, to understand the uniqueness of Christ, and to engage on that quest of faith, hope and love which combined to make a man blameless and holy in the life of grace. The mysteries of the Christian life interested the converts of Chonas (then called Kolossai) less than rules of diet, and of discipline of the body, to which they joined an excessive interest in those ministering spirits and angels, some of whom governed the planets, but who, though they complete the scheme of salvation, are not its centre and secret; some of them believed that when they said Christ Himself was the chief of these angels, they claimed enough for Him.

In Philo, the attempt to combine Platonism with the Old Testament had produced an interesting, if confused, philosophy. But in the regions of Asia Minor there was already a tendency towards other novelties, a tendency which afterwards developed into the heresy called Montanism.[17] Like the adherents of the mystery-religions, the converts at Chonas looked for salvation: like them they welcomed baptism: but they combined a belief in planetary influence with the Jewish teaching about angels, so as to regard the angels as rulers of the stars in their courses. Into this system they fitted both baptism, the Eucharist, and the Messiah of Paul. They could admit that the Christos was the master of angels and ruler of spirits. They could admit that He was the power by which the material universe had been created: they could admit that He had appeared to the patriarchs. But they trusted also to subsidiary angels for whose influence they prepared by fasting and other ascetic exercises in an elaborately tuned system of discipline, till they should attain to the fulness of the hidden mysteries attained by philosophy: for this completion of the system implied to them something more than Christ.[18] Converts of Epaphras, they had never known the dynamic power with which Paul preached his Redeemer as all in all.[19]

For the secret of Paul's religion was an experience ascending in climax beyond climax past the subtlest speculations of men. It was a doctrine built on another order of life, a mystical and supernatural experience. And since this was given in the Church from the Christ, it was given for the life of the Church as a whole.

From it, then, should overflow some conviction, some gift of faith, some diffusion of grace that would confirm those to whom belief was an experience less intense, and life a more normal struggle for a kindly and unselfish life.[20] This interplay of advanced mysticism with good and gracious manners

was not least in the realities of the faith: it was very different from that combination of asceticism with intellectualism which made the innovators at Chonas proud and superior to common men.[21]

Such was the Gnostic heresy—in certain particulars curiously like contemporary theosophy—of which he had already had an inkling some years before at Corinth. It was the idea of an esoteric knowledge, introducing a scheme of life which, though not without its attraction and elevation, was at once too close to hygiene, to magnetism, and to human schemes or fancy, and too far from the true mystery of the indwelling Christ. *He* through grace changed character and soul, and knit men and things together to take their place in a perfect order, sustained by His Spirit.

These men were also less often to perceive what Paul offered because they were fascinated by certain powers in nature: the curious radiance of the moon, which could turn fish rotten and had a strong effect even on human minds if they were unbalanced: the attraction of magic and the influence of the stars: rules about not touching or approaching certain impure things: above all strict rules about the taking of food and drink: particular attention to certain seasons and festivals as exclusive opportunities: these ideas were current at the time, not only among Ionians but among Jews; they have often attracted people since. Paul had issued warnings and directions about them more than once. He repeated them now with some precision, fully admitting the advantage of keeping rules to put the body in due subjection, but insisting that the highest success in an hygienic or ascetic scheme of living, and the power to associate it with a theory of the spiritual life were very far from that mystical transformation which made men perfect in the Church, living as cells and members of the Body of the Christ with His own life. The former, however attractive, was

a human scheme. It was not a revelation from God of how to live in and with the holiness of faith.

5

Faith in the Kingly Redeemer, love for all living a redeemed life, a hope laid up in Heaven, all coming in the truth of the evangel to give knowledge of the grace of God: such, said Paul, were the qualities, such the conceptions which will lead Christians with joy even in their sufferings to thankfulness to the Father who had made them fit and worthy to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light.[22] . . . "Therefore," he wrote, "I do not cease to pray for you and long that you might be filled with the knowledge of His Will in all wisdom and spiritual understanding, that you might walk worthy of the Lord towards all giving of pleasure, being fruitful in every work of good, and increasing in the knowledge of God, strengthened with all might according to His glorious power."[23]

Such was the triumph which he pictured for those whom Christ, the dear Son of the Father, having redeemed them through His blood, forgiving their sins, had brought from the powers of darkness into the kingdom of His light.[24]

6

Christ, as Paul proclaimed, is not merely the master of the planets and their rulers, He is in Himself the sum and picture of all perfection.

1. He is the image of the invisible God.

2. He is the "first-born", that is the primal type, of every creature.
3. All things, both visible and invisible, both men and angels, are created by Him and for Him.
4. In Him all things attain to their perfect relation to one another.
5. Therefore He is pre-eminent above all things.
6. Pre-eminent also in the hierarchy of grace, He is the head of the Church.
7. In Him therefore is the completion and perfection of every being, both singly and together.[25]

As the Wisdom of the Universe, He offered to all things that consummation which they have in the completeness and the fulness of the All which is God:[26] in dying, He had died not only for all men but for all things. He, in one word, had reconciled to Himself in one harmony of peace the existence of visible things and the hierarchies of the unseen: and He, who above all ranks of creatures reigned in the central height, reigned there as taking thither in Himself the nature of the created world and the life of the redeemed. This mystic vision of the scheme of things was a mystery hidden from ages and generations of men: but in all the riches of its mystery it was given to all who, by faith in the Christ, accepted it. Their hearts were knit together in love to attain all the wealth of the full assurance of understanding that they might acknowledge the mystery of God—both of the Father and of the Christ in whom are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.[27]

7

All philosophy and science, both natural and occult, are outdone in this sweep and flash of mystic vision in which the

Christian consummated his faith in the act of adoring the Christ: "For in Him dwells all the fulness of the Godhead bodily. And you are complete in Him who is the head of all the angelic hierarchies—thrones, dominations, virtues, princedoms, powers."[28]

This theme was one with the perfection of the Mosaic law and the sacred tradition of Israel. Let him therefore put it again in the form of words so sacred to the Israelites:

"In Him also you are circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh by the circumcision of Christ, buried with Him in baptism, in which also you are risen with Him through faith in the working of God who raised Him from the dead. . . .

"If you then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sits enthroned at the right hand of God. Set your affection on things above, not on things of the earth. For you are dead, and your life is hidden with Christ—in God."[29]

Such was the great vision of mystical theology in which Christ's envoy frames his portrait of a Christian. He sees the simple believer set high in the heavenly places. "Man with God is on the throne."[30] By the burial and resurrection in which the believer rose from the christening in which he was born again, he had passed beyond all ranks of things, seen and unseen, to the central height. For, when the eternal doors had lifted up their doors for the King of Glory to come in, He had brought with Him all who put their trust in Him, in the solidarity of the human nature He had exalted.

He had raised our human nature
  On the clouds to God's right hand,
There we sit in heavenly places,
  There with Him in glory stand.

Jesus reigns adored by angels,
Man with God is on the throne.
Mighty Lord in Thine ascension
We by faith behold our own.

So did a nephew of Wordsworth a hundred years ago write as a hymn the doctrine which St. Paul gave to the Colossians.

This sublime doctrine was restated for the whole realm of nature in the words of the most philosophical of mystics, St. John of the Cross, Doctor of the Universal Church:—

"In the lifting up by the Incarnation of His Son, and in the glory of His resurrection according to the flesh, not only did the Father beautify His creatures in part, but we can say that He left them all clothed with beauty and dignity. . . . They are all clothed with marvellous natural virtue and beauty, wondrously derived from and consummated by that infinite supernatural beauty of the image of God whose beholding of them clothes the world and all the heavens with beauty and joy just as does also the opening of His hand. . . ."[31]

"God nurtures and gives being to all creatures which have their root and life in Him. And thus in grace and wisdom, the contemplative admires their beauty which not only each of the creatures—both celestial and terrestrial—has from God, but which they make among themselves in the wise, ordered, gracious and loving mutual correspondence, both of the lower creatures among themselves, and of the higher likewise among themselves, and between the higher and the lower—a thing of which the knowledge gives the soul great beauty and delight."[32]

8

So does St. John of the Cross explain what St. Paul hinted of the music which the universe makes in Christ: of the beauty

with which Christ's splendour invests it. Against his golden splendour St. Paul sets his scheme of moral renewal—that even the most ordinary should practise decent, honest, peaceable behaviour. The corollary of his mystical theology was to exchange lying, blasphemy, filthy talk, bad temper, spite and vindictiveness for a heart of compassion, kindness, gentleness, patience and forgiveness: for love and charity which are the bond of perfectness."[33] "Let the peace of God rule in your hearts," said the Apostle, "and be thankful."[34] "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom."[35]

And how would this mystery of grace be made manifest? By a happy life in the home, with wives not overruling their husbands nor husbands bullying their wives: the children obedient, the parents encouraging and gentle with their children, the servants working cheerfully, the employers considerate and just,[36] the talk tactfully and courteously suited to whoever was to hear it, and seasoned with the salt which would give it the right flavour;[37] the believers buying up in the market-place of time every opportunity of either making a good impression, or explaining a difficulty.

The brilliance with which Paul in one short letter set out the cosmic grandeur of the Christ, and connected it with the daily rub of life and temptations, showed that he knew what saints and churchmen have experienced from age to age. Neither philosophy nor mysticism frees a man from the cross of living in the common world of things and men with the imperfections both of others and of himself.

9

Paul now turned his eyes to the most important of the Isles of Greece. He had established in Crete Titus, the companion

of many of his adventures, who was having to deal not with highly intellectual rivals to the mystery but just the daily faults of ordinary people. Paul now wrote to his follower to warn him in familiar words of the simple duties and standards of a Christian life; the need to avoid brawling, avarice, violence, the need to practise self-restraint, discretion, justice.[38] Paul had no high idea of the Crete of the time; he fully recognised the fussiness of the Jews there. Yet still he intermingled with his warning counsels to an old friend in need of guidance that central doctrine of a glorious redemption which he mentioned in one form or another in every epistle he wrote: "not through the works of right living which we did but according to His mercy did He save us—through the laver of a second birth and the renewing of the Holy Spirit which He poured upon us richly through Jesus Christ our Saviour: that, set right by His grace, we should be inheritors, according to the hope of everlasting life."[39]

10

Paul had left Titus behind him to set in order the things left undone, and to ordain "ancients" or "priests" and "bishops" in every centre. With the example of Corinth before him, Paul's care was to establish order: to be sure that those who were in charge of the community as ministers should inspire confidence. Not excitable, not hot-tempered, not avaricious, not arousing comment on account of riotous children, but living exemplary lives of kindness, moderation, good sense, prayer and finally holiness. Such must be those who were ordained as ministers for the fellowship of Christ's religion.[40]

When Paul himself was present, he could speak with the tongues of men and of angels; he could show wit, charm, irony,

magnetism, intense thought and the power of religious exaltation: but he knew that he must not expect each of his representatives to be either genius or saint: and with the good sense which gave his passion and piety their hold over the common men, he could speak in words that came more easily to the lips of the physician, Lucanus, than to himself, words borrowed perhaps from a general formula of directions sent round to the Churches, words like wholesome, sound, devout, sensible, which would appeal to ordinary men and women of the world who do not quite understand the mystery of grace. For them he must issue his plain guidance: servants must not pilfer, nor be disrespectful; young men must not be roysterers, or loose in conduct. The practical missioner speaks from a common knowledge of the ways of ordinary men and women. For "Christ Jesus", as he was to tell Timotheos, "came into the world to save *sinners*".[41] And so—though he might speak of a changed life, and the Divine Spirit, and the high prerogative of the Church—he kept his mind on the combination of regular worship with right conduct, and both with self-control: that men might live in this present world not only a godly but a right and a discreet life.

These, after all, are the common cares of the average life of those who mean to live as Christians: and though there were no doubt some lives where the dyes of sin were crimson, there were others beguiled by nothing other than bad temper, or spite, or gossip, or envy, or argument and controversy over trifles. He had his word for each of them.

11

If he must write to Titus in Crete as to how to choose well and keep in order the men on whom hands had been laid, so

he must leave a document of guidance for Timotheos in Ephesus. He must write in words that could be quoted to those in Ephesus who had worked against him, to warn Timotheos against the pedants or precisians, who—like the Parushim of Jerusalem—preferred controversy over minute points of learning or ritual to that Christian life which was love out of a pure heart, a good conscience and faith unfeigned. Why waste energy over all this haggling about the meaning of the Jewish law? Breakers of all the commandments: crimes of the worst order: murder, indecency, perjury, and outrages against the lower classes were common enough. Against them shone in its brilliance the glorious evangel of the blessed God.

And to Paul's trust, even though at one time he had sworn and worked violently against it, that message was committed. It could save him, it could save others: and now, in turn, Timotheos must guard it.

How? The Church was a universal benefaction. Intercessions must be made for all sorts and conditions of men, and thanksgivings should be general too. First of all let the Church give its support to rulers and men in authority that order may safeguard a peaceable life pursued in fervour and determination.[42]

To pray properly, men must give up their quarrels and arguments: to pray properly, women, when they go to church, should not think first of how to make an impression on the men who were to see them there![43]

Still more important were those who ministered in the churches: whether of the class of superiors: or ministrants. Take first the former: the "bishops". Had they the gifts of sobriety, self-control, dignity? Could they manage their own families? Were they generous and tactful with others. Had they a good reputation outside the Church so as not to cause scandal, and its inevitable reactions?[44]

If so much is required for Bishops and priests, there are

demands also to be made of deacons. They must not be the sort that says one thing to one man, another to another: they must be trustworthy, self-restrained, and above a passion for making profits on their transactions: one ought to remember that, as deacons, they are undergoing a test for preferment.[45] Deaconesses, too, should be self-restrained and reliable, not gossips.[46] By such should be governed the Church of the living God: it is the pillar and the foundation of an eternal truth: of the mystery of holiness which worships—and by worshipping grows towards—the Christ.

12

At this point, the question of gnostic, or as we might call it, theosophical teaching arose in Ephesus, as it had done in Chonas: there too were people who put a false emphasis on celibacy or the choice of food. But the real question, said Paul, is less of the food than of the mood. Eaten with thanks, what food is bad?[47] Physical training has some value: but how much more has the training of the soul, which wins life from the God of Life.

So Timotheos, if he still seemed a slight and youthful figure, must exercise a constant eagerness for perfection, remembering that he had received the gifts of an ordained minister.

13

But no sooner had the discreet writer given his personal warning than he thought of another administrative problem: the widows who demanded support, or who wanted to help.[48] They should be women for whom their own families could not provide and they should be at least sixty years old; women

younger than sixty with nothing to do easily become gossips and busybodies, and some of them are followers of Satan.

Yet another difficulty: suppose any should attack the reputation of "a priest" or "ancient". It must be proved by more than one witness and must be scrupulously analysed: but if a priest is proved wrong, let the reproof be salutary.[49] Do not mix with people whose name is tarnished; but keep yourself rather far above reproach and gossip.

At this point, Paul was reminded of the delicate constitution of Timotheos: who was ever too abstemious, whose digestion was weak, and who was often ill. Well, ill-health does not help a man to either sound judgment or administration, so let him not hesitate to take wine.[50]

Generally, Paul said, both vices and virtues are plain enough to see: but there are some involved cases where one has to discriminate most carefully.[51]

14

Yet another question remained: to keep servants up to a standard. Even if a Christian servant has a pagan and inconsiderate master, the servant must not be disrespectful: nor must he claim the ground of Christian brotherhood for ceasing to be respectful.[52]

Paul's letter had begun with a warning against hair-splitting arguments from religious intellectuals, whose skill in learned controversy may even lead them to well-paid posts.[53] He came back to that point, and points out how hopeless it is when the hope of preferment begins to control a man's actions.[54] Timotheos must avoid all that; he must set his aim on loyalty, love, endurance, on upright dealings in the world, and fervour in the love of God which would lead upwards above all thrones

and dominions to Him who reigned in the mystery of inaccessible light.[55]

Ah, yes: and if theology might lead to preferment, so for business men money can be an end in itself. But the true riches is a beneficent and social life among all the good things which God gives us to enjoy with one another.[56]

"And yet again", Paul wrote, "avoid controversy which so easily becomes mere talk: in such an atmosphere, who can realize the *mystery* of the faith?"

15

Such in all its homeliness, all its sense, is Paul's direction to the young friend he trusted: it shows how shrewd was his solicitude, and how, as the years went on and he saw how the Christians were being organised, he met this difficulty—as he had met earlier ones—with the skill of an elastic mind made to sway and rule men. In this essay on the choice of clergy and the government of men, eternal life and the mystery of Christ are mentioned little: his favourite expression "in Christ" occurs less often. There is no word of living among the heavenly realities. What is shown is that acumen which is the counterpart and proof of spirituality. Dante breaks in upon the raptures of the *Paradiso* for invective against corrupt clergy.[57] Bunyan, at the very gate of the heavenly city, gives an incisive account of how men slide from religion to worldliness.[58] Sir Thomas Browne, who in his youth had written his romance of *Religio Medici*, in his old age wrote homely letters, and "*Christian Morals*". Paul too leaves his flights of mysticism to give again, as he had given to Titus, the advice clergy need when they are dealing with very ordinary people. For Paul was not merely a visionary. Like most Saints he was a shrewd leader of men.[59]

XXIII

AN ESSAY ON UNITY

1

WHEN PAUL FIRST WROTE TO TIMOTHEOS, HE WAS IN MACEDONIA. When he wrote to Philemon, he spoke of being in chains. As the same name occurs in *Philemon* as in *Colossians*, the two letters were written at the same time and from the same place; since Timotheos was with him, the most natural place for him to be was Ephesus. If this is so, the conclusion is that Paul, now an old man, was again under arrest—in Ephesus—and what is more likely, if as the religion of the Christians became better known to be something other than Judaism, both Romans and Jews organised against it, while Nero, as he became more and more debased, came into sharper and sharper conflict with the things, and with the men, of God?

The general tradition and the statements of Eusebius agree that Paul was arrested a second time. But where was he arrested? On the strength of a later reference Troas[1] had been suggested, and a transference to Ephesus would best explain the references in *Philemon* and *Colossians*. If so, and as tradition so constantly affirms, Paul ended his life in Rome, the only conclusion is that he was taken back there as a prisoner.

2

From Rome then we must date the last and greatest of his essays, the *Epistle to the Ephesians*, the epitome of his teaching on the divine plan, and on the completion of the work of

the Christ in His body the Church, to consummate the unity of truth in the truth of unity.[2]

After opening with the habitual greetings of grace and peace, it bursts into an enthusiastic mystical celebration of the divine design of saving men by bringing them through grace to the spiritual blessings which made them live as one body with one another in the life and realities of heaven—in the Christ.

"He chose us in Him before the creation of the world that we should be holy and immaculate in His sight in love, foreordaining that we should be adopted as sons into Himself through Jesus Christ, according to the good pleasure of His will, to the praise of the glory of His grace, in which He made us gracious in the Beloved.

"Through His blood (which is His life), in Him we have redemption, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of His grace.

"In all wisdom and knowledge He lavished it upon us, making known to us the mystery of His will, according to the good pleasure which He purposed to accomplish in Him."[3]

This was the stewardship and dispensation of the fulness and passage of time: to incorporate all things, both those in heaven and those on earth, under one head, the Christ.

"In Him", said Paul, "we Jews were also foreordained according to the purpose of Him who orders all things according to His will, we who have beforehand hoped in the Christ, are assigned to God, as His children, to be to the praise of His glory, and you men also of other nations, hearing that Word of truth which was the evangel of His salvation, and believing in Him, are marked with a visible sign of the Holy Spirit of promise, who is the pledge and first installment of our own share in Him, so that God's own possession might be redeemed, and His grace made triumphant in glory."[4]

Here in all its riches and its splendour was the final evangelical statement in one hymn of praise of the design of God in Christ and in His Church. Here in fact was Paul's inspired vision of the order of the universe. It was a mystery which only an inspired intuition can accept, and to receive it was the very essence of the faith. Paul—in an irradiating intercession which made his soul a window for less profound believers and less advanced mystics—prayed that the Father of glory would so enlighten the hearts of His children that, by the lightning of revelation, their minds might understand, firstly, the hope to which they were chosen and called; secondly, what was the riches of their glorious lot as saints and men of the spirit; and, thirdly, the transcendent greatness of Christ's power for all those who had the faith: for all this energy, this strength, this might, were displayed in the Christ, the Christ who had been raised from the dead to be set above all the unseen powers—the thrones and dominations, and every name that is named, not only in this phase of existence but in that which is to come, at the right hand of God.[5]

Christ's ascension was no mere personal triumph. It was the consummation of a great process. He did not triumph alone. He triumphed containing in Himself the Church, as head of it, His body, "the fulness that filleth all in all".[6]

What is the meaning of this high poetic phrase? Its meaning is inexhaustible. But the sense is that all creation, which had been straining and longing for perfection, attains it when it is arrayed in harmonious order for the service of men and of angels, and they in relation to it; all things are constituted, both severally and together, in this hierarchical order. This is the design for those who understand and share the power and the mystery of Christ. When they are all under the direction of Christ, and inspired by His power within them, His plan and part in creation is completed in each separate life and

existence; and creation is completed in Him in one fulness of order and harmony: all this is attained through direct relation to Him, through sharing His comprehensive purpose, in the energy in which He worked to attain it, and in the triumph and glory of His own perfectness as the head of the Church. The Church sums up His purpose in creation, both in heaven and on earth, for it is the fulness that completes each thing in the harmony of all things—through, with, and in Himself.

3

According to an ancient office of the Church, God is both power unchangeable and light eternal: by the tranquil operation of His perpetual providence. He is carrying out the work of man's salvation.[7] But man's salvation was not the mere safeguarding of certain elect souls. It was part of the Divine means to restore to the perfection of God the original Divine design, all things, not only men, but nature, air, electricity and the stars. And thus in the whole mystery of Christ, it may be felt and seen that the things which had grown old are being made new, and that the things which had been cast down are being raised up, and that all things are returning to perfection through Him from whom they took their origin.

4

No sooner had St. Paul in his hymn of praise recapitulated the essentials of his inspired scheme of the universe than he turned to the contrast between it and the Roman Empire through which he had travelled. He had seen men dead in

their sins, and disobedient, acting, under the power of evil spirits, as they felt inclined by their lower nature. But on them God had poured out the riches of His mercy—the grace which made them whole: He had incorporated them into the Christ, and raised them up in Him and with Him to the heavenly state: so had He shown to the age to come the transcendent riches of His grace. If they could, through faith, see what this scheme was (faith itself was a divine gift) and then through grace perform the works set to their hands, they had completed what God had ordained.

Before, the non-Jews had been cut off from the singular privileges of Israel, its law, its confidence and trust, its hope, its bond with the one true God. But now they were brought near by sharing in the life of Christ: for it was He who had broken down the barricade that cut them off from the holy of holies: it is He who is our peace. What had divided them? It was the Jewish code. But now that was abolished: the Christ, in the mystery of His death, had killed the enmity between Jew and non-Jew. He had opened the gate of heaven for all mankind: He had in His own infinity completed the law of sacrifice: He had created in Himself one new being, and so made peace. "Through Him we both have access in one spirit to the Father."[8]

The idea of a body was transformed into that not merely of a great crowd in a temple, but of the temple itself, "You are no more strangers and sojourners but you are fellow-citizens with the saints, and in the household of God, being built upon the foundation of the Apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner stone".[9] Dante was to picture the Church triumphant as a rose of living petals:[10] St. Paul saw the Church—whether militant, expectant or triumphant—as a cathedral of living stones in which each chapel and constituent part, fitly framed together as a thing admirable in

itself, helped to complete the range and majesty of the whole building for the home and house of God in His creation.[11]

O that we could share his triumphant vision, this mystery that he knew by revelation, in which Jew and non-Jew were sharers and fellows in an unsearchable wealth, in an eternal purpose, in a complex wisdom which would delight the thoughts not only of men, but of the highest angels!

5

All that remained was to pray and to pray again that what had been given to him as a mystic revelation might shine on the inward eye of others: it was a wealth of glory almost beyond the strongest grasp of the loftiest mind: for when Christ dwelt in the heart His power transcended every thought and every desire, and filled men with the fulness of God: at this thought again the worshipper was lost in adoring wonder.

And so Paul went on to write that since this transcendent order of grace and glory was the inheritance of all who had the faith, let them keep with one another in gentleness and patience the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. They were all *one*. They were called to one faith in one hope; they were received in one baptism to be one body and one spirit in one Lord. One God and Father of all was above all, through all, and in them all.[12] Through all ranks of creatures, from the central height, the Christ poured out His wondrous diversity of gifts and operations that each, performing his own proper part on his own proper instrument, should combine the one orchestral music of creation. As the perfectly co-ordinated body lives, fitly framed and knit together, from that which each cell provides, each, in the due measure of its special function, contributes to the increase of the whole for the purpose of the

head: thus all believers come to fulfil the mystery of a perfect Christ: they attain the measure of His stature as they complete His life in mutual love, and thus are made perfect in *one*.[13]

6

Such was the mystery and secret of God's purpose and design as Paul had received it by revelation. His thankfulness irradiated into intercession; for how could he wish other than to share this abounding wealth of knowledge? But it was not enough merely to tell of it what the words of genius and holiness could tell: he must face the contrast which heathen humanity presented, he must survey the common tendencies and temptations of the men he would convert, or had converted, and warn them against hardness of heart, and the greed associated with sensuality. "Put away the former manner of life: change the old man for a new man: change what had been corrupted to the pattern of its deceitful passions to be renewed in the spirit of the mind. Put on the new man created in the righteousness and holiness of the truth. The truth is in the Christ. Learn it in Him."[14]

Let anger, clamour, bitterness and abuse be changed to forgiveness and tenderness of heart. Let him that stole steal no more. Let a man's speech be uncorrupt, helpful, courteous. Offer your lives as not merely a sacrifice to God, but as Christ did, as a sacrifice made attractive by the incense burnt with it to make the air sweet with its perfume.[15] Walk as the children of light, where the sunshine plays. Let your gaiety not be that of carousals, but the joy of noble music and of song. Let the home be arranged unselfishly to make all in it happy: no rudeness and hectoring from masters to servants, and from servants a single-hearted and devoted service.[16]

Give all thou canst: high heaven rejects the lore
Of nicely calculated less and more.[17]

7

Yet it was not in these moral directions that Paul's final encyclical ends. Between the daily duties, and the charm of a happy home, there was a warfare of unseen and mighty powers. Paul's mind went back to the Roman soldiers: he had known them all his life: they moved sacrosanct to maintain order and were admired for their prowess; as he wrote there may have been one beside him keeping guard with sword, breastplate and helmet gleaming together.

Such must be the armour of the soul. To withstand the strategy of Satan faith must put on the panoply of God. "For our wrestle is not against flesh and blood, not against mere human men and women, but against demoniacal powers, against thrones and dominations, against those who are despots over the dark powers of the world,[18] against those forces which are the essence and spirit of evil in the heavenly order itself. Such powers must be fought with agencies and weapons which are themselves not of this world. Therefore it is that men must arm themselves from head to foot with Divine weapons so that, no matter how dire and fierce the strife, they should stand undismayed, having accomplished all their duty. Their loins must be girt up with the belt of truth, their breastplate must be rightness of life, on their feet the preparation of the evangel of peace, their shield the faith which can shield them from the darts of the malignant enemy, even if those darts are tipped with fire, their helmet salvation, their sword that cutting edge of the spirit which is the word of God."[19]

Thus, in worship, petition, intercession and persevering in

the work of the saints, they could make Paul himself, an ambassador in fetters, bold to deliver his supreme despatch. Peace, love and faith as gifts from the Father and the Christ, and grace for those that love with the immortal and uncorrupt love of those already raised to the heavenly order, such was the final combination of gift with ideals with which Paul closed that last encyclical to Asia which was a compendium of all he had come to see in his Christ.

8

Still thinking as a Jew, but a Jew who was a member of a universal Church in which the non-Jew was called to the same blessedness, still arguing the necessity of faith in what was heard, still visiting the temple at Jerusalem where he had worshipped as an eager Jew from Tarsus, still hymning the power of divine grace, still combining charity and love with faith and hope, still convinced of the offices of angels, but upborne more than ever by a wide-reaching inward vision of the universality of the design of the Father of glory in the Christ, through the Holy Spirit, so as to emphasise words such as riches, energy, wealth, mystery, design[20]—all combining with glory—Paul was absorbed in the faith which made his many congregations into a Church which was one: of this Church combining the visible with the invisible, things present with things to come, the complement and fulfilment of the Christ, incorporated with Him to share in His majesty in the heavenly order in the blessed Trinity, he could have said already what Dante was to write of the Trinity in Unity:

> I saw in its abysmal deep immersed,
> Together in one volume bound with love,
> What is throughout the universe dispersed.[21]

XXIV

HENCEFORTH THE CROWN

1

THE LAST WORD OF DIRECTION TO THE CHURCH HAD BEEN spoken—spoken triumphantly. There remains from the hand of Paul only one more document to consider. In it the clarion tone of cosmic triumph on sovereign beneficence dies away: it is the message of an old man to a young friend, a record of solicitude for a follower and helper—it is written to that dear friend—half Jew, half Greek, slight, delicate, diffident—whom he had circumcised some fifteen years before, and left in charge at Ephesus—Timotheos. And because this letter is more familiar, mentions more personal details, and at times rambles a little, it has been argued that Paul did not write it; others with far more reason contend that it represents notes written at various times to Timotheos and combined by him into one treasury of varieties of messages. But this suggestion, ingenious and attractive as it is, remains a conjecture. It is safer —as well as more suggestive and inspiring—to agree with the great majority of commentators through the ages up to the present day and treat the whole letter as Paul's testament and farewell.[1]

It is not a mere record of a spiritual friendship: it is also the message and direction of an Apostle to his successor in responsibility.

2

What was Paul? One who was chosen because he was needed to tell forth the promised life and salvation; he was now writ-

ing to a son dear to his heart to wish him grace and encouragement and inward peace.[2]

The friendship between them had been so blessed that it filled the old man's heart with love and gratitude, mingling with all his intercessions. "Day and night", wrote Paul, "I yearn to see you again, especially as I remember the tears you shed at our parting: if you could only come, my joy would be complete."[3]

Then the Apostle speaks to stir up in his disciple the gift within him, the gift of strength and self-discipline together with love. Timotheos should not be taken aback to see Paul arrested, but lean on the strength of grace: that grace had shone with radiant light in the appearance of Christ our Redeemer, who had shown that life was immortal. Paul had been appointed to proclaim with authority the teaching which Timotheos must hold fast in faith and love with the help of the Holy Spirit indwelling.

3

Cowardice and courage: Paul had seen instances of both: all his followers in Asia had run away from him: but Onesiphorus had sought him out even in Rome itself, and every visit was like a breath of fresh air.[4] Timotheos must come too, come and share the sufferings of the campaigning soldier, the effort of the athlete, the toil of the man working with his crop. What was the central truth of the evangel? The Resurrection. And as Paul thought of his evangel, he remembered that it was for it he was once more in chains like a criminal; and yet, even so, spreading the message of salvation which nothing could enchain.

Yet he must think of young Timotheos and his difficulties.

4

He must warn him to avoid wrangling controversy that eats out the life of the spirit like a cancer. There are varieties of minds and thoughts in the Church, just as there are all sorts of vessels in a great house. If one avoids these arguments, one may be a golden goblet: but in order to be this, Timotheos must flee the raw impulses of youth and seek loyalty, love, and peace—be courteous, tactful, gentle, discreet.

The aged man went on to prophesy trouble among Christians who would be thinking of self, money or pleasure: hard, conceited, proud, worldly, gossips. "Avoid these," wrote Paul to Timotheos. "You know how different my own life was, how I bore myself when persecuted in Antioch, in Konieh, in Lystra: persecution is the inevitable lot of those who have decided to live a fervent life in the Church of the Christ. But you have learnt his religion from those who knew what it was in its truth, as you have known the true significance of the Septuagint, and all its inner wisdom leading to the Christ and His salvation."[5]

5

"I charge you," continued Paul, "preach the evangel. Face your task with courage, in season and out of season, whether you are welcome or unwelcome, refute false teaching, rebuke those who have done wrong, be firm with those who refuse to obey, encourage those that do obey, always keeping patient, and elastic in your teaching. Keep calm: be ready to face suffering: your work is to preach the evangel, preach it to the full: your task is to be steward of the mysteries: minister them too.

"For I shall have to leave you: the time is short till my blood is poured out like a sacrifice to God; till I must strike my tent and be gone. I have fought the good fight: I have run my course to the end: I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me the crown of right living which the Lord, the just judge of the race, will give me on that day, and not to me only but to all those whose hearts are set on His presence. For we shall be together with Him in love."[6]

6

It is that simple, personal speech of the heart which most fitly combines with the great vision of universal order he had pictured in his general letter. The majestic array was one with the sense of intimate communion, of personal reward: and speaking to his young friend and follower it was as natural for him to speak of this one side, and to speak again in his favourite language of the athlete, as in a general message on the unity of the Church it was right to speak of the noble promise of that.

But when human strength fails the faculties, and life ebbs away in the valley of the shadow, it is just the clinging of heart to the heart that loves them that is left to the weakness of the dying. "Thou", they say, "art with me: thy rod and thy staff comfort me."[7]

For the heroic old man was worn out now with the effort to convey his strength. He was aware that he was cold and weak and dying, and his heart ached with longing for his young friend. "Make every effort to come quickly," he dictated feebly. "I am very lonely. Demas has left me, having loved this present world. Crescens has gone to Galatia, Titus to Dalmatia. Only Lucanus is with me. Pick up Marcus and bring

him with you: for he is always a useful helper. As for Tychicos, I sent him to Ephesus."[8] And then the dying man in his damp prison shivered: if only he had the cloak that he left at Troas when he was arrested: and then he thought of the rolls and parchments that had been with it:[9] but ah, then and again he had been betrayed, how few had supported him; all had fled! But yet again the Lord had delivered him, and He would lead him safe into His heavenly kingdom. To Him be glory for ever and ever!

His words seem to be echoing the psalm of dereliction which Jesus had quoted on the Cross. They mingle with the names of his closest friends, Priscilla, Aquila, Onesiphoros, Trophimos, and those new friends around him, Eubolos, Pudens, Linus, Claudia. For he was not alone, after all.[10] There was not only Lucanus, but new friends who were to uphold in Rome the glory of the Church and raise Romans also to heavenly places in the Christ. Thus His tireless Envoy came to his last greeting: "*The Lord be with thy spirit, and with thee GRACE.*"[11]

7

To the eyes of Paul, the Roman scene, significant as it was, had displayed and with more striking clearness those contrasts between the world and Grace which he had seen so clear at Jerusalem, at Antioch, at Ephesus, at Salonica and at Corinth. Along the imposing Roman ways rushed the chariots of tyrants. From her marble palaces wretched slaves brought the tale of tyranny, of scandal, of crime: and in the meaner streets were smells, and dirt, and misery, and evil; at the head of society, master of the wide system of law and government, the judge to whom he had appealed, was a young man of twenty-four whose passion for effect became a horror.

Nero, as we saw, was the stepson of Claudius. He owed his throne to the fact that his mother plotted before he poisoned Britannicus. By this butchery he was raised to a position venerated as Divine; the irony was diabolical: and by it Nero's mind was unhinged. His soft and vain character sought the distraction on the one side of indulgence, and on the other of applause: and above all applause for his indulgences. The desperate way he drove in races, the frenzy of his music and his mimes, these were the exordium to vices and cruelties which were monstrous. Such was the result of committing to a comedian the government of the world.[12]

Seneca, and his brother Gallio, were degraded from the rank of counsellors, criminals such as Tigellinus took their place: outrages followed: and Rome was depraved. When the Emperor had condemned to horrible deaths the best around him, he took as counsellors the furies.

The whole system of law did not at once crack: and when the case of Paul at last had been brought before him, he had allowed justice to take its course. The New Movement was not yet persecuted; in the consolation given by a pure life, and the hope of heaven, and, mysterious above all, the presence of the Christ in the power of His Spirit—the Christians were filled with the peace and joy of their faith. When the Jews could feel lofty and unsullied in the practice of the Law, and the worship of the Unnameable, how high was the recompense of finding its promises fulfilled in the new and heavenly Kingdom, where the foretaste of eternity was already on their lips; where the Church was present in the power of the Holy Spirit.

For Paul, the contrast between a depraved court and the secret growth in obscure places of the new community was accentuated by his dealings with two men. On the one side he had appealed to Nero: on the other, he met in Rome the very man who had told him in Jerusalem what the Christ Himself

had been seen to do, and what words He was heard to speak. For a period, Protestant scholars doubted if the Peter whom Paul had called Cephas had reached Rome: but (though there are none so deaf as those who won't hear) the voice of history has spoken. In his monumental work on St. Peter, the Dean of Winchester echoes it: not only is there a lack of evidence against the statements of Clement and Eusebius: not only is the tradition of Peter's presence in Rome widespread and undisturbed: but the evidence which in recent ages has faced the archæologists has convinced them absolutely.

"For the archæologist the presence and execution of SS. Peter and Paul in Rome are facts established beyond a shadow of doubt by purely monumental evidence. There was a time when persons belonging to different creeds made it almost a case of conscience to affirm, or deny, *a priori*, those facts according to their acceptance or rejection of the tradition of any particular church. This state of feeling is matter of the past at least for those who have followed the progress of recent discoveries."[13] Such is the evidence of Rome's foremost archæologist.

Archæology, as a science, has been born again. Piecing together, one by one, inscriptions, stories and statutes, the archæologists of to-day have learnt in Crete, in Egypt, in Syria, at Ur, to build up the record of two to three thousand years ago. In Christian Rome, which is but a corner of their recent diggings, they find evidence which only the most obstinate could persist in denying.

The denial was based on two hypotheses: first that the Christians of Rome were overcome by an absurd delusion about their immediate predecessors: but this can no more be sustained than the other hypothesis that in scattered and obscure corners they prepared for posterities centuries distant a complex hoax. Only one conclusion remains: and that is that with St. Paul in

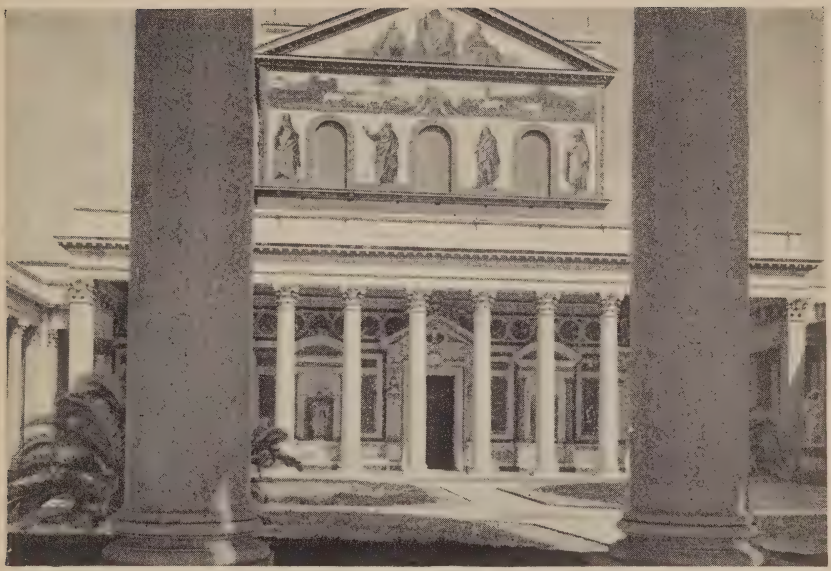
Rome was also present St. Peter, whom the Church has hailed as Cephas, the rock.[14]

8

Turning his disgusted eyes from the dissolute farceur who reigned absolute above the Forum and the Tiber, Paul saw, passing through humble streets among the slaves and the Jews, the honest and humble radiance of the man whom the Christ had called from fishing to be a magnet for men: the man whom He had chosen to be—as receiver of the gift of faith—the Rock, the Cephas, on which to build a Church against which the gates of hell should not prevail.

What was the relation between the two men? History has linked their names together with that of their church in Rome. If they were not martyred together, their martyrdoms are commemorated in a single feast-day. Dean Selwyn, like Renan, points to the reasons for believing that they still exchanged much, as they had done when they first met in Jerusalem. He points out that in the first Epistle, attributed almost universally to St. Peter, there are many phrases shared with St. Paul. It almost looks as though Peter had turned to Paul for counsel: another index is that Paul henceforward refers with cordiality to Marcus who came with Peter, as he had travelled in earlier days with Barnabas. They had common helpers; Silvanus, Marcus.

When two men are joined by a common memory and enthusiasm, when they have leagued with one another against the same enemies, when they have travelled through dangers with one purpose, when they are united in love for the same leader, they are allies; but friendship gives a sympathy other than all these.



(Exclusive)

ROME—THE BASILICA OF ST. PAUL BEYOND THE WALLS,
BUILT OVER ST. PAUL'S TOMB

And beyond friendship there is that deeper intuition and unity which is supernatural. These two men were drawn together by one spirit to live in the one Body of Christ, knowing that the one God and Father of both was above both, through both and in them both; deep therefore was the love that, in the last days, drew together in Rome those two immortal names, and made one speak in the accents of the other.[15]

Their friendship was an alliance against death. In a few years Nero had surpassed his own excesses. Obsessed with the idea of impressing the people, and finding he could best do so by amusing them, his passion was to provide them with startling sensations: and what excitement so thrilling as horror?

Rome's austere tastes were changed for those of luxury.

The mind of the citizens was melodrama. Petronius came forward to rule as master over the arts of pleasure. A swollen and ornate architecture housed a people whose passion for sensations and sights carried them from excess to excess, such was the mood of the mob in the reign of a Caesar whose instinct was to govern by gratification.

Then in the July heat of the year 64, a more acute sensation broke in upon the carousals of the new Babylon. Its streets flamed into the purple night in a widespread conflagration.[16] There is in the heat and roar of a great fire something which stirs our nature to the depths. When it moves over the prairie, or the forest, with its lightning rush: as it scorches away the life of leafy trees, to leave charred stumps above a blackened earth, it comes as peril and bequeaths hideousness: in a great city, however, the drama is yet more moving. At every turn of its career, it throws an unpredictable menace at the homes and lives of men. With a roar and a crash, it tears down the work and destroys the treasures heaped up by years: in the movement of the flames, in the columns and clouds of smoke which darkens the sky, in the impetuous energy and power with

which it subdues to its voracity materials strong and precious: it challenges the fierce effort of men to call to their aid the force of water: yet even while it devastates, it calls forth a thrill of admiration at its gorgeousness, and men are as fascinated by it as by the intrigue of a crime.

9

When the conflagration burst out in Rome, Nero was bathing at Anzio: when he returned he realised that this was the most dazzling and impressive horror of his life: wild memories of the burning of Troy mingled with his delirious excitement, and it was said that he turned to music to sense more completely the excitement the flames evoked. Mad for sensation, he ordered them, when dying away, to be rekindled.[17]

On the excitement of the spectacle followed the realization of the resultant ruin. Smouldering heaps of rags told the story of the cost. And then arose a cry of vengeance. A diabolical fury demanded that expiation should be made by the new religion which ignored the conventions of Rome and detested its scandals. Had its adherents not foreseen for the new Babylon just such a ruin as had engulfed it? Most of them were slaves of a low degree. Yet a final sensation could be obtained by one of those executions which were the supreme drama of Roman life: while among a vast crowd, the obese young Emperor raised to his eye an emerald magnifier to enjoy to the full the gestures with which a naked virgin sought to guard her modesty while she faced the lion: further, to indulge his sensations and their amusement, it was sought to include the two leaders from Syria in the general accusation. It is more likely than not that Peter and Paul met their deaths on the same day.

Details are lacking: a tradition remains. It is that the impetuous old man who had so nobly struggled against his faults was crucified like his Master; but at his own request with his head downwards; it was not forgotten, however, that Paul was a Roman citizen: and, though condemned to death, he died by the sword. On a summer morning he was led out past the cypresses and the pyramid of Caius Cestius which rises above that "slope of green access" where the body of Keats and the ashes of Shelley were to be laid. Through the Ostian gate he passed over the campagna to a lonely fold of the hills.

There a Roman sword swept asunder head and body, and Paul passed to a double immortality: in heaven the unfading crown of grace, on earth a power ever renewed; for his words remain insistent, significant, mysterious from age to age: they speak from heart to heart. With Peter, he is himself central, not only in the history of Rome, but also in the veneration of the Church.

10

Among Rome's majestic monuments, the basilica which is built above his tomb has a singular grace and beauty. Alone in the campagna, far from the dust and rumbling, its charm and dignity are exempt from question. The cool, still spaciousness, the polished marbles, the quiet, sunny cloister, the perfection of a taste sublimed to majesty, suggest what Paul, even in his impetuousness, diffused: the peace of God which passes all understanding, the peace which keeps men's hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God.

It is in the serenity of that victorious peace that Rome recalls to her people and her pilgrims the Jew who with devouring fury first gave himself to the zeal of Israel, who in doing so

found his desired Messiah coming in a life so lowly to a triumph so transcendent that he was paralysed by his surprise: and who from that moment lived a life transformed, even while he developed to the full the peculiarities of his impulsive temperament and his elastic genius.

We see him adhere enthusiastically to the new movement. We see him seeking in solitude to reintegrate his inner life. He had received a direct knowledge of the Christ through his inner faculties of contemplation. With the inner eye he had seen: with the inner ear he had heard: by an experience that was supernatural, he had come face to face with Him by whom the worlds were made.

To be not disobedient to the heavenly vision, he must move from men to be alone with the Alone: he sought to be detached from all things: he passed by the bareness of faith and direct communion to mystical union with God. And so he remained for months, perhaps years, alone in the desert, putting away the things of the natural mind, and learning the art of contemplation. This is that "mystical theology which signifies the secret or hidden wisdom of God, wherein without the use of words and without the aid of any bodily or spiritual sense, as if in silence and quiet, hidden by darkness from all that is in the senses and of nature, God teaches the soul after a most hidden and secret manner, without her knowing how. This is that which some spiritual men call 'understanding yet understanding not'. This is not done by the understanding which the philosophers call active, the work of which is in the forms and fancies, and apprehensions of the bodily faculties: but it is done in the understanding as much as this is receptive and passive: without receiving such forms, it passively receives substantial knowledge, stripped of all images, which is given to it, without any work or action offered of its own".[18]

So it was that Paul developed into a habit of the soul what before had come in gleams and flashes. Yet this habit of divine communion showed that his Christ was truly Man, and had left His secret as something to be shared among the men He had chosen. For even in receiving revelations, Paul knew that his course might be vain if he did not compare it with the words of Peter. His conversation with Peter led, however, to yet another revelation when he heard the inward voice which from time to time returned to him. And this time it warned him that the Christ would send him far among the nations.

For some years we lose track of him. All that remains is a hint of ecstasies, and a rising reputation which brings him first to Antioch, and then takes him on a journey in which he displays his range of gifts before a Roman proconsul, before a Lycaonian crowd, and among those who frequent a Jewish kenishta. He then comes forward as an apostle of a Church emancipated from circumcision and built on the rock of faith in the Christ and His evangel.

Adroit one moment, enraged the next, he is the master already of a powerful individual style.[19] His career develops with impressive swiftness. He thinks in Roman provinces, he passes through them like a meteor, he leaves in them a new way of life, a way which joined sweet charity and kindling ardour like the morning. A Jew concentrating on Jews, he easily shows that he was not only conversant with the Jewish lore of his time—itself affected by Greek and Roman ideas—but with the philosophy and mysteries of the Hellenistic world. His voracious mind strikes at his quarry from vast and soaring sweeps. He learns from the subtle and the simple, and with extraordinary versatility suits himself to each. His wide travels leave their impress on his malleable genius. He is ready for

every adventure, yet he consumes his hours as a craftsman. He keeps in touch with Jerusalem, yet he impresses others by occult powers and miracles. His very garments have the magnetic quality which he irradiates.

The same man shows himself intense, adventurous, courageous, sympathetic, gentle; he insists on the values of all nobleness, culture and good taste. At times incisive, at others mystical, he passes from adventure to adventure, and from uproar to uproar. Yet shrewdly he keeps his practical ends in view. At one time he compels admiration for his statesmanship, at another he captivates by his charm, at another he manages the situation by a stroke of diplomacy. Tactful, courteous, cosmopolitan, a man of the world, yet he is conscientious, zealous, fervent, intense while he preaches mostly to men who are strangers to privilege. Elastic in his approaches, he retains a fiery individuality: mildness, sympathy and tenderness to his friends, he is swift to resent a wrong. His heart glows with affection, he leans on companionship; yet he cultivates solitude. Equally impressive in the tribunal of a prince as in a bark driven to wreck by storm, he showed at every turn qualities of character which mark both the governor of men and the exquisite friend.

12

At the same time he becomes the master of a highly wrought Hellenic style; riding the deluge and the storm, his art strikes and rests on the loftiest summits of a new literature. He writes passages which echo down the ages with the resonance of their sublimity. Trained to learn by heart and store his memory with the grandeurs of the Septuagint, and above all of its poetry, his speech varies between a resonant grandeur and conversa-

tional acumen. His power is overwhelming. On the ears of St. Jerome his words fall as a thunder roll. "They seem at first like those of a rustic innocent who can neither lay a trap nor avoid one; but wherever you look, they flash lightnings. He winds into his subject; he seizes all he has touched: he turns his back only to conquer: and feigns flight only to down his enemies".[20] Erasmus, too, heard thunder in his words,[21] yet thought that, like Cleopatra, "he was cunning past men's thought".[22] Yet his writing, even when most intimate, or most consummate, gives the effect of a mind so absorbed in his subject as to be oblivious of both the rules and the stratagems of a writer. He has less the genius of style than the style of genius.[23]

At times he is careless: often disjointed: at times he makes a swift thrust into crudity: but, when he soars to the heights, neither orator nor poet can rival him in art, power, or mystery.

With a power of condensation and a novelty kindred to that of Shakespeare, he gives language a new range of meaning and shows that in his personality there was a force that was new. No style, said Renan, was ever so personal.[24]

It was a temperament which produced strong reactions: on the one hand riot and opposition, on the other a loyalty and ardour kindred to his own. This force of heart and temper makes itself felt in all he thought. "Style," said a great Italian critic, "is the life which your concept takes within you, and which you communicate to others in expressing it."[25]

And what above all marks the life of this envoy of grace is that which Meredith called the core of style—fervour. His soul, says St. Chrysostom, comprised the whole world and carried all men in itself, so near was it to God. "And he loved them so as if he had begotten them all, or rather showed them a greater warmth of affection than a father: for such is the grace of the Spirit, it exceeds the yearnings of the heart of

flesh, and is moved by more ardent longings than theirs. And this one may especially see in the soul of Paul, who with the aid of love, rose up as it were with wings."[26]

13

Both as a man and as a writer, he was indeed the most remarkable of his time. But if in genius and in force of style he had no contemporary rival, he is remembered not for those but for something else. The sphere in which he conquers is that of heavenly grace. His special appeal is that he was *inspired*. His power is that which he shares with other writers of the New Testament: "their lofty spirituality, their unexhaustible capacities for instruction and consolation; their boundless adaptability to all ages and circumstances; above all their ceaseless power of satisfying the noblest cravings and aspirations of the human heart. Other writings are profitable for knowledge, for advancement, for amusement, for delight, for wealth. But these 'make wise unto salvation'."[27]

His career of adventures in beautiful and historic scenes fades before his vocation as an apostle. Again and again people have forgotten the Jew wandering in sun and wind through the Levant. They ignore everything but the core of his teaching. The sphere in which he displayed his power is that of holiness—a holiness attained through sharing in the redemption, through the life, the death and the resurrection of his Saviour. Paul's triumph was a mystic paradox: on the one side a personal faith in the Blood of Jesus: on the other, devotion to a Church which completed creation from the fulness which leads all things to all their perfections. For "God thinks an infinite good in infinite ways."

Both of these themes have shown a perennial power. An erring world may ignore them, to writhe in strange convulsions. It may allow the inventions of science and art to be swept into maniac schemes: it may see the resources of civilization gathered for tournaments of ruin. It may see man attain vast powers over nature to use them only for the waste and mania of strife. But even in these furies of agitation, there is, for those who accept the faith of Paul, a central peace; his adherents—stretching now from Jerusalem and Corinth, past Naples and the Tiber to every remoteness of the earth—find that in each they are assured of the peace and triumph which possessed him as he passed, obscure among yet obscurer converts—sharing with them the words and mysteries of grace.

In a pagan world they lived not merely untroubled. They cherished a hope which was a fixed assurance of eternal glory. While a world still demanded their allegiance and while it appeared to offer them justice and security, it faced them now with vice and scandal, and now with famine and dismay; but their real lives were in another region where a peace passing understanding kept their minds in the knowledge and love of God; where, filled with joy and peace in believing, they could, like Paul himself, abound in hope and in the power of the Holy Ghost.[28]

1.—ON ST. PAUL

England produced two classical lives of St. Paul: Lewin, 1851 (the edition quoted here is the 3rd, 1875), 2 vols.; Conybeare and Howson, 1864, 2 vols. (referred to in notes as C. & H.), 1869. These were succeeded by that of Renan who wrote also: *Les Apôtres*, 1866, *L'Antéchrist*, 1872. Advantage of these was taken by F. W. Farrar, whose *St. Paul*, 1880, though written in an emotional style, is also a monument of learning. Many of the conclusions of these books were, however, shaken by Sir William Ramsay, whose books: *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, 1895 (referred to as *S.P.T.*), *Cities of St. Paul*, 1907; *Pauline Studies*, 1906; *Historical Commentary on Galatians*, 1896; and *Luke the Physician*, 1902, established many new facts about the meaning of the term Galatia, and bearing on the date of the Epistle to the Galatians. There has been little to add to these works, though Stalker, *St. Paul*; T. R. Glover, *Paul of Tarsus*, 1925; A. D. Nock, *St. Paul*, 1938, are deservedly well known as studies. Frequently referred to is the I.C.C. commentary on *Romans* by Sanday and Headlam (referred to as S. & H.).

Meanwhile Fouard has produced his *St. Pierre*, and *St. Paul*, incorporating much of the scholarship of Renan while counterbalancing his scepticism. *La Théologie de St. Paul* (2 vols.), Paris, 1929, by F. Prat, S.J., is a work of the highest order.

In German we have: Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, 1924; Schweitzer, *Die Mystik des Apostel Paulus*, 1930; Clement, *Paulus*, Giersen, 1904; Deissmann, *Paulus*, Tubingen, 1925; S. Wartz, *Paulus*, 5 Bande, Innsbrück, 1931; L. Schneller, *Paulus*, Leipzig, 1935; Josef

Holzner, *Paulus,* Freiburg, 1937; Kittel, *Theologischer Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament,* 1932, in addition to Strack-Billerbeck's *Kommentarium zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch,* 5 vols., 1922-1928. See also Paley, *Horae Paulinae,* 1795; F. A. Spencer, *Beyond Damascus,* 1934; L. Tondelli, *Il Pensiere di San Paolo,* Milan, 1922; A. Vitti, *Vita S. Pauli, Exordia,* Rome, 1932.

Foakes-Jackson and Kirsopp Lake cover much ground in *The Beginnings of Christianity,* 5 vols., 1920-1935. Two general books of reference are: Smith, *Dictionary of the Bible,* 5 vols. (referred to as Smith, *D.B.*); Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (referred to as *E.R.E.*).

For use of words see Hope-Milligan, *Vocabulary to the New Testament;* Kittel, *op. cit.*

2.—ON THE GRECO-ROMAN WORLD

Cambridge Ancient History, vols. x, xi; Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire,* 1926, *Social and Economic Hellenistic World,* 1941; A. Fabre and A. S. Festugière, *Le Monde Gréco-Romain dans le temps de Jésus Christ,* 1935; Festugière, *L'Idéal Religieux des Grecs, Contemplation et la Vie Contemplative selon Platon;* Wendland, *Hellenistische-Römische Kultur,* 1912; E. Stemplinger, *Die Unbekannte Antike,* Leipzig, 1926; Fustel de Coulanges, *Der Antike Staat;* S. L. Caiger, *Archaeology and the New Testament.*

Classic Sources: Appian, *Civil Wars;* Suetonius, *Roman Emperors;* Pliny, *Natural History*; Plutarch, *Lives*; Tacitus, *Annals, History*; Flavius Josephus, *Antiquities, Jewish Wars.*

3.—ON JEWISH THINGS

Renan, *Les Apôtres*, 1866; Arendzen, *Men and Manners in the Days of Christ*, 1936; Jean Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain*, 2 vols., 1914; Bonsirven, *Le Judaisme Palestinien*, 2 vols., 1936; Baeck, *Das Wesen des Judenthums*, 2nd edn., 1922; A. Causse, *Les Dispersés d'Israël*, 1932; E. Schurer, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volks*, 3 vols., 1911; Eichrodt, *Theologie des Alten Testament*, 3 vols., 1935; P. Riessler, *Alt-Judisches Schriften*, 1928; Deissmann, *Die Hellenisierung des Semitischen Monotheismus*, 1920; Ruppin, *Soziologie der Juden*, 1934; Paul Wendland, *Hellenistische-Römische Kultur*, 1912; Edwyn Bevan, *The Legacy of Israel*, 1927; R. T. Herford, *The Pharisees*, 1924; G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, 3 vols., 1929; E. C. Montefiore, *Judaism and St. Paul*, 1917; H. Wheeler Robinson, *Religious Ideas in the Old Testament*, 1913; Oesterly, *A History of Israel*, 1932; *Books of the Apocrypha*, 1935; W. Knox, *St. Paul on the Church in Jerusalem*, 1925.

NOTES

CHAPTER I

[1]Cochrane: *Christianity and Classical Culture*, 9. [2]Appian: *Civil Wars*, V; Plutarch: *Mark Antony*. [3]Suetonius: *Augustus*, 22. Cf. S. L. Caiger: *Archaeology and the New Testament*, 171. [4]Pliny, *N.H.*, XXVII. [5]Fabre-Festugière: *Le Monde Greco-Romain*, ch. V. [6]Velleius, II, 9. [7]Pliny, *N.H.*, XV, 105 and XIV, 5. [8]Wendland: *Kultur*, 187, 192-196. [9]Rostovtzeff: *Ancient World*, II, 291. [10]*Op. cit.*, II, 292. [11]Fabre-Festugière, *op. cit.*, I, 55-6, 124. [12]Plutarch: *De Alexandro*, I, 6, 8. [13]Maurice Jones: "The Hellenistic World" in *Expositor*, 1921, Vol. XXI, 350-4. [14]Cf. Plato: *Laws*, II, 673e; *Phil.*, 26b. [15]Festugière: *Contemplation*, 432-3. [16]Festugière: *Contemplation*, 423, 426. [17]Fabre-Festugière, *op. cit.*, 92-3; L. Homo: *Les Institutions Politiques*. [18]See L. Grasberger: *Erziehung und Unterricht in klassischen Alterthum*, Wurzburg, 1864-1881, Vol. III, 384-398; W. W. Capes: *University Life in Ancient Athens*. Cf. E. Stemplinger: *Die Unbekannte Antike*, Leipzig, 1936; Fustel de Coulanges: *Der Antike Staat*, Berlin, 1907; F. A. Spencer: *Beyond Damascus; Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte*, 4 Bände, Leipzig, 1921-22. [19]H. A. L. Fisher: *History of Europe*. [20]Macaulay: *Miscellaneous Writings* (1860) on Mitford's History of Greece. [21]Festugière: *Contemplation*, 210-251, 322-358. [22]Festugière: *L'Idéal Religieux des Grecs*, 19-20. [23]Rostovtzeff: *History of the Ancient World*, II, 291-2. [24]Rostovtzeff: *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, Ch. III, especially p. 756. [25]Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, 83.

CHAPTER II

[1]Suetonius: *Augustus,* 76. [2]Renan: *Les Apôtres.* Cf. Tacitus: *History,* V, 4; Cicero: *Pro Flacco,* 28; Philo: *In Flaccum,* 37; *Legatio ad Carnim,* 36; Acts ii. 5, vi. 9. [3]Bonsirven: *Le Judaisme,* I, 4; Arendzen: *Men and Manners in the Days of Christ,* 98-102. [4]Martial, IV, 4; Ammianus Marcellinus, XXII, 5. [5]Martial: *Epigrammata,* VII, 57. [6]Tacitus: *History,* V, 5, 9; Dion Cassius: LXVIII, 32. [7]Josephus: *Antiquities,* XVIII, 3, 5; XX, 2, 4; *Bell. Jud.,* II, xx, 2; Acts xiii. 50, xvi. 14. [8]Tacitus: *Annals,* II, 5; *History,* V, 5; Juvenal, XIV; Ss. Dion Cassius, XXVI, 7, LXVIII, 14; Fl. Josephus: *Contra Apionem,* II, 39. [9]Tacitus: *History,* V, 5; Josephus, *loc. cit.* [10]Renan, *op. cit.* [11]For Diaspora: Causse: *Les Dispersés d'Israël.* [12]Ruppin: *Soziologie der Juden,* 68 ff. [13]Strabo: *Antiquities,* IV, vii. 2. [14]Ruppin, *op. cit.,* 68. [15]Jean Juster: *Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain,* 116 ff.; Flavius Josephus, LXIV, x. [16]*Pro Flacco,* 28. [17]See E. G. Hardy: *Monumentum Ancyranum.* [18]Josephus: *Antiquities,* XV, x. [19]Bonsirven: *Judaisme Palestinien,* I, 5, 9, 12; Fouard: *St. Pierre,* Ch. III. [20]Bonsirven, *op. cit.,* I, 6, n.4; Reinach: *Textes,* 255, 290; Strabo: *Antiquities,* XIV, vii. 2. [21]Bonsirven: *op. cit.,* 1, 7. [22]Is. xxxiv. 8. [23]For Jewish religion, see Eichrodt: *Theologie des Alten Testament,* 3 vols. [24]Wheeler Robinson: *Religious Ideas in the Old Testament;* E. Schurer: *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volks;* Edwyn Bevan: *The House of Seleucus,* 2 vols. [25]See Ezra vii. 10. [26]R. T. Herford: *The Pharisees,* 58. [27]See Lauterbach: *Sadducees and Pharisees,* 186, 186a. [28]Ps. cxix. 7 A.V. [29]Ps. cxix. 1. [30]Herford: *The Pharisees,* 54. [31]G. F. Moore: *Judaism,* I, 163. [32]See *Pirqé Aboth,* VI. [33]M. de Grandmaison: *Jesus Christ,* Eng. trans., 273-4. [34]Montefiore: *Judaism and St. Paul,* 109. [35]H. Wheeler Robinson, *op. cit.* [36]Ps. xl. 6. [37]Ps. li. 18 A.V. [38]Is. lvii. 15; cf. P. Riessler: *Alt Jüdisches Schrifttum,* Augsburg, 1928. [39]Cruden's Concordance has 50 references to trust in God. [40]Jer. xxxi. 3. [41]Job xiii. 15; Job xlii. 50. [42]Numbers vi.

24. [43]Zech. viii. 5. [44]Is. lx. 11. [45]Wheeler Robinson, *op. cit.* [46]Is. lxi. 1. [47]Mal. iv. 2. [48]For Greek influence on the Jews, see Knox: *St. Paul and Jerusalem;* Oesterley: *A History of Israel,* II, 175 ff., 217 ff.; Deissmann: *Die Hellenisierung des Semitischen Monotheismus,* 11-14; Bonsirven, *op. cit.,* I, 37 ff.; Eichrodt: *Theologie des Alten Testament,* Vol. III. [49]Luke vii. 5; Acts xvii. 4, 17. [50]Acts xviii. 7; Lagrange: *Le Messie,* 207-209. [51]Philo: *De Circoncisione.* [52]Renan: *Les Apôtres.* [53]Tacitus: *Hist.,* V, 4. [54]Aristeas quoted in Oesterley: *Books of the Apocrypha,* 56, syncretizing in Wendland, *op. cit.,* 195-210. [55]G. F. Moore: *Judaism,* I, 285. [56]Wisdom vii. 22-24. [57]Philo: *Leg. Alleg.,* I, 13. [58]*Die Bibel deren Gott Jahweh heisst ist die Bibel eines Volkes: die Bibel deren Gott* Κύριος *heisst ist die Weltbibel;* cf. Angus: *Environment of Early Christianity.* [59]Ps. cxix. 1. [60]I Sam. ii. 10. [61]Is. ix. 7. [62]Micah v. 4; Is. xi. 2. [63]II Macc. vii. 37; see Lagrange: *Le Messie,* 237, 248. [64]Daniel vii. 13-14. [65]Guignebert: *The Jewish World in the Time of Jesus.* [66]Ramsay: *Pauline and other Studies,* 69. [67]Josephus: *Bell. Jud.,* II, xiii, 4; vii, 12; *Antiq.,* XX, viii, 6.

CHAPTER III

[1]Excellent accounts of Tarsus in *Dictionary of the Bible,* 5 vols., 1900; Ramsay: *Cities of St. Paul;* Deissmann: *St. Paul;* Prat: *Theology of St. Paul;* Glover: *Paul of Tarsus,* Ch. I; F. A. Spencer: *Beyond Damascus;* H. V. Morton: *In the Steps of St. Paul.* [2]See R. Bultmann: *Der Stil der Paulinischen Predigt,* 1911. [3]Prat, *op. cit.,* I, 14; cf. Pliny: *N.H.,* V, 52. [4]Deissmann asserts that Shaul did not belong to the educated class (*St. Paul,* 50-53). This is refuted by E. L. Hicks: *St. Paul and Hellenism,* 7 ff. [5]Ramsay: *Pauline and other Studies,* 65. [6]F. A. Spencer, *op. cit.;* Horace's *Satires,* I, ix. 90. [7]Renan: *Les Apôtres,* 291; Juvenal: *Satires,* XIV, 99 ff.; Martial: *Epigrams,* VII, 29, 34, 54. [8]Ps. lxix. 9. [9]Strabo, XIV, 5, 13; Zosimus: *History,* I, 6; Dion Cassius, LII, 36. [10]Prat: *The-*

ology, I. [11]Lagrange: *Le Messianisme,* 141. [12]Deissmann: *St. Paul,* 101; Prat: *Theology,* I, 18; Nock: *St. Paul,* 236-7. [13]Deissmann: *Die Hellenisierung des Semitischen Monotheismus.* [14]Prat (*Theology,* I, 17) says Shaul was in Tarsus till 13; Ramsay (*Pauline and other Studies,* 67) till he was 20; Canon Deane (*St. Paul and his Letters,* 29) quoting Edersheim (*Jesus the Messiah*) till he was 15. In spite of these, Canon Knox denies St. Paul was educated in Tarsus at all (*St. Paul and the Church at Jerusalem,* 94, 126). Cf. *Theology,* Dec. 1942. The texts he cites do not prove his assertion. [15]Ps. lxxxvii. 2. [16]For Gamaliel, see Fouard: *St. Pierre,* quoting *Pirqé Aboth,* I, 11. [17]Ecclus. xxxix. 1-3. [18]Acts xxiii. 3; Acts xxvi. 5; II Cor. xi. [19]Gal. i. 14. [20]Strack-Billerbeck: *Kommentar. aus Talmud und Midrasch,* II, 763. [21]Ps. lxiii. 2. [22]Is. v. 16; cf. Wheeler Robinson, *op. cit.* [23]Wisdom xviii. 1. [24]Cf. Glover: *Paul of Tarsus,* "reeking with blood and dung". [25]Exodus xx. 3. [26]See Hastings: *E.R.E.* [27]Ps. lxxiii. 23-26. [28]Ramsay: *Pauline and other Studies,* 69. [29]John iv. 24. [30]John iv. 29. [31]Matt. xxviii. 13. [32]Acts i. 9.

CHAPTER IV

[1]Ps. cxix. 165. [2]Cf. Romans vii. [3]Marlowe: *Faustus.* [4]John viii. 58. [5]John ix. 35-37. [6]For Stephanos, see Smith: *D.B.* Hastings: *E.R.E.;* Acts vi. 5-15. [7]Is. lxii. 1. [8]Acts vii. 52. [9]Acts vii. 53. For a valuable analysis of this speech, see Phythian-Adams: *The People and the Presence.* [10]Browning: *Easter Day.* [11]Acts ix. 4; xxii. 7; xxvi. 14. For comparison of the three accounts, see Glover: *Paul of Tarsus,* 62-4.

CHAPTER V

[1]R. T. Herford: *The Pharisees,* 163; cf. Montefiore: *Judaism and St. Paul,* 128-9. [2]Ps. ciii. 12. [3]Acts xxvi. 19. [4]For relations of visions to mystical life, cf. St. John of the Cross: *Ascent of Mount Carmel,* Book II, Ch. XXII. [5]Acts ix. 17; xxii. 13. [6]For

teaching of formulas, see A. M. Hunter: *Paul and his Predecessors*, 14-40. [7]Binyon: *Augustine and Monica*. [8]For Arabia see Farrar: *St. Paul;* Lightfoot: *Galatians*, 87-90.

CHAPTER VI

[1]Acts ii. 36. [2]A. M. Hunter, *loc. cit.* [3]Acts iii. 19. [4]Matt. xviii. 20. [5]Acts ix. 23-4. [6]The basis of the narrative is Acts ix. 26-29; Galatians i. 18-24. For an alleged discrepancy between these, see Kirsopp Lake: *Beginnings of Christianity*, II, 269-270, 318-9; Ramsay: *Galatians*, 283-285. I owe to Bishop O'Rorke the following explanation of how the two accounts tally.

Paul essayed to join himself to the disciples, meaning the believers in general (Acts ix. 26) and they were all afraid of him. But Barnabas took him and brought him to the Apostles (27). His main object was to make a pilgrimage to Peter (Cf. Lightfoot: *Galatians*, 91-2) and he saw no other except James (Gal. i. 19). "The Apostles" therefore means Peter and James only. They hear of Paul's conversion. He was with these two Apostles, going in and out: when he preached boldly in the name of the Lord, it was only to Hellenist Jews unconverted. But so wrathful did these finally become that they sought to kill him (Acts ix. 29); he did not appear before the *Churches* in Judaea. These only heard the story of his conversion, and some were friendly enough to help him against the Hellenist Jews (Acts ix. 30). He then went on to Syria and Cilicia (Gal. i. 21) meaning Tarsus (Acts ix. 30) and Antioch (Acts xi. 23).

[7]For Barnabas, see Hastings: *E.R.E.;* Smith: *D.B.* [8]Acts xxii. 18. [9]C. & H., II, 21. [10]C. H. Dodd: *Apostolic Preaching*, 96.

CHAPTER VII.

[1]I Cor. ix. 22. [2]Cf. J. Schneider: *Die Vorkundigung des Paulus.* [3]Cf. H. A. A. Kennedy: *St. Paul and the Mystery Religions*,

280-1. [4]Romans v. 5. [5]For divinities of Egypt and of Persia, see Macgregor and Purdy: *Jew and Greek Tutors unto Christ*, 274. For aims of mysteries, see Angus: *Religious Quests of the Greco-Roman World*, 76; Cumont: *Les Religions orientales*, Paris, 1909. [6]Keats: *Ode to Psyche.* [7]Cumont: *The Mysteries of Mithra*, 149. [8]Wisdom xvii. 18, 19. [9]Ecclus. xliii. 9, 10. [10]Cumont: *The Mysteries of Mithra*, 190-1. [11]Prat: *Theology*, II, 385-90; J. Gresham Machen: *The Origin of Paul's Religion.* For a study of pagan religion in Tarsus, see H. Böhlig: *Die Geistes-Kultur von Tarsus mit Berücksichtigung der Paulinischen Schriften*, Göttingen, 1913. [12]L. Patterson: *Mithraism and Christianity*, 177. [13]H. A. A. Kennedy: *St. Paul and the Mystery Religions*, 228. [14]Reitzenstein: *Die Hellenistischen Mysterien Religionen*, 209. [15]Prat, Gresham Machen, *loc. cit.* Cf. V. D. Macchioro: *From Orpheus to Paul*, New York, 1930, Ch. ix, on the close connection between the Orphic Zagreus and the Pauline Christ. [16]Philo: *Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres*, xxiii; the expression was σπερματικὸς λόγος; see Drummond: *Philo*, 102, 125; Kennedy: *Philo's Contribution to Religion*, 158. [17]Philo: *Leg. Alleg.*, iii, 215; *Quis Rerum Div.*, 31; *De Spec. Leg.*, I, 43, f. [18]Kennedy, *op. cit.*, 145-150. [19]Ps. lxxxiv. 12. [20]Zech. iv. 10. [21]Armitage Robinson in *Ephesians* has an excursus on Χάρις but in the N.T. only. Burton in *Galatians* (I.C.C.) is more general. Cf. Gfrörer: *Philo* (1835), I, 128 ff.; Siegfried: *Philo v. Alex. als Ansleger des A.T.* (1875), 307; Drummond: *Philo Judaeus* (1888), II, 309-24. [22]Brehier: *Idées de Philon*, 222; Kennedy, *op. cit.*, 133-5. [23]Philo: *Quis Rerum Div.*, 190. [24]Jowett: *Commentary on Galatians*, 373. "To thread the maze of Philo's inconsequent and self-contradictory language is the work of a life-time, and students, admittedly of the first rank, come to diametrically opposite conclusions." K. E. Kirk, D.D.: *Essays on the Trinity and the Incarnation* (edited by Rawlinson), 190-1. [25]Ps. xlvi. 10. [26]Ps. cxix. 18. [27]Sencourt: *Carmelite and Poet;* cf. St. John of the Cross: *Cántico Espiritual*, xxxix, 12.

[28]II Cor. xii. 1-5. [29]St. John of the Cross: *Ascent of Mount Carmel*, Book II, ch. xxiv, xxv; *op. cit.*, xxiv, 3. [30]II Cor. xii, 8. Full discussions of this in Lightfoot: *Galatians*, 186-191; Ramsay: *S.P.T.*, 96-98; *Galatians*, 422-8; Goudge: *II Corinthians*, 121; Farrar: *St. Paul*, Vol. I, excursus x. [31]Chrysostom: *Romans*, Hom. xiii. [32]Acts xi. 25.

CHAPTER VIII.

[1]For description see Renan: *Les Apôtres*, 215, 223. He quotes Dion Chrysostom, Libanius, Pausanias, John Chrysostom, Juvenal, Tacitus, Philostratos and Josephus. Cf. Smith: *D.B.* [2]Ps. xxiv. 3. [3]Ps. xxiv. 4. [4]Acts xiii. 1-3. [5]Acts xiii. 4-7. For Sergius Paulus, see Ramsay: *S.P.T.*, 73 ff. [6]Acts xiii. 8-12. For Magus, see Kirsopp Lake: *The Beginnings of Christianity*; G. Rackham: *Acts*, 200-1. [7]For change of name, see Strack-Billerbeck: *Kommentar.;* Saulos, see F. A. Spencer: *Beyond Damascus;* Liddell and Scott, *ad loc.* [8]Acts xiii. 13. [9]For account of journey, see Ramsay: *S.P.T.*, Ch. V, and *Cities of St. Paul.* [10]Acts xiii. 14-44; G. Rackham: *Acts*, 207-217; Louis Robert: *Etudes Anatoliens.* [11]Acts xiv. 1-28. See Holzhey: *Die Theckla Akten*, especially for Onesiphorus.

CHAPTER IX.

[1]Gal. ii. 10. [2]See Lightfoot: *Galatians*, 128-132; Möhler: *Gesammelte Schriften*, 1-18; the view taken by author is Jerome: *Epistolae*, CXII. [3]Much learning is imbedded in Lightfoot's *Galatians*. Some of it is superseded by Ramsay's *Historical Commentary on Galatians*. Burton's *Galatians* (1920) is less valuable than others in the I.C.C., but contains a good bibliography up to 1920. The classical German commentary *Sieppert* (Meyer's, 1899) is superseded by Lagrange: *Epître aux Gal.*, 1927. Paul's claim for direct authority for his gospel: Gal. i. 8, 9, 11-12, 20. [4]Gal. ii. 19. [5]Gal. ii. 16-21.

[6]See Gal. iii. with Gal. iv. 5-6. [7]Gal. iv. 10, v. 5-7, vi. 16. [8]Gal. iii. 7, 22, 26, 27. [9]Lagrange: *Epître*, LXIX. [10]Lagrange, *op. cit.*, LXX. [11]Gal. v. 16-25. [12]Gal. vi. 14. [13]Gal. iii. 2-4. [14]Gal. ii. 19-21. [15]Lagrange, *op. cit.*, p. lxxviii.

CHAPTER X.

[1]Acts xv. 1-5; Rackham: *Acts*, 243-250. [2]Acts xv. 6-29. For Council, see Appendix I. [3]For authority of Peter, see Renan: *Les Apôtres;* F. Underhill: *St. Peter.* [4]Acts xv. 29. [5]Acts xi. 20. [6]Acts xv. 36-40. [7]See Renan: *St. Paul.* [8]Smith: *D.B.*, IV, 768. [9]Lewin: *St. Paul*, 188-9; Holzner: *Paulus*, 140. [10]E. F. Brown: *Pastoral Epistles*, pp. xiii, xxiii. [11]Lewin: *St. Paul*, I 193-203. [12]Held back from Mysia, see Ramsay, *S.P.T.*, 196. [13]Rhyndacos, see Ramsay: *S.P.T.*, 197. See journey to Edremid in Clement's *Paulus*, 147. [14]Account of Asia Minor, Renan: *St. Paul*, 129-30. [15]Homer: *Iliad*, II, 821 ff.

CHAPTER XI.

[1]For Luke, see Smith: *D.B.;* Ramsay: *S.P.T.*, 202-3; Ramsay: *Luke the Physician;* also E. F. Brown: *Pastoral Epistles*, p. xix. [2]*H.E.*, iii, 4. [3]Acts xvi. 9. For dreams, see Holzner: *Paulus*, 149. [4]For Philippi, see Collart: *Philippes.* [5]See Pliny: *N.H.*, ix, 124-141; cf. Spencer: *Beyond Damascus*, 229. [6]Rackham: *Acts*, 287. [7]If the prison were like some modern Turkish cave prisons in Macedonia, such as Ramsay saw, an earthquake might well displace both bars of doors and fixings of stocks. Ramsay: *S.P.T.*, 221. [8]Cicero: *In Verrem.* [9]Acts xvi. 25-37. [10]Latin: *dynarchus dasephus illeger.* [11]Cicero: *De Prov. cons.*, 2. [12]Strabo, 33; Lucian: *Asin. Aur.*, 46. [13]Gibbon: *Decline and Fall*, Ch. XVII. [14]For Salonika, see G. Milligan: *Thessalonians.* [15]I Thess. ii. 9. [16]I Thess. ii. 2. [17]Acts xvii. 1-9.

[18]Suetonius: *Claudius*, 25. [19]Acts xvii. 10-12. [20]I Thess. ii. 8, 10-11. [21]Thess. iii. 12, 13. [22]See Prat: *Theology*, II, 7. For Paul's eschatology, see Prat: *Theology;* cf. I Thess. iv. 14-17. [23]I Thess. ii. 7. [24]I Thess. iv. 3, 4. [25]I Thess. v. 8; cf. A. M. Hunter: *Paul and His Predecessors*. [26]Acts xvii. 13-14. [27]S. H. Butcher: *Harvard Lectures*, 42.

CHAPTER XII.

[1]Wordsworth: *Evening Voluntary*. [2]Clement: *Paulus*, I, 370-1; Smith: *D.B.*, "Greece" (by H.F.T.). [3]Newman: *Historical Sketches* (1875), Vol. I, 20. [4]C. & H., I, 371-380; see Acts xvii. 22, 31; Prat: *Theology*, I, 59-61; Norden: *Agnostos Theos.*, 31-83, 113-124. [5]For Corinth, see F. S. de Waele: *Korinthos* (Stuttgart, 1934. Reprint from Pauly-Wissowa). Johannes Weiss: *I Korintherbrief*, ix, "Griechenland in der apostolischer Zeit." Cf. I Cor. i, Schaff-Herzog's *R. E.*, VII, 160-168.

CHAPTER XIII.

[1]Aquila already a Christian, because not baptized with the others, see I Cor. i. 14. Cf. Holzner: *Paulus*, 206. [2]See I Cor. i. 11, 14-15, xvi. 17. [3]I owe this passage, with other courtesies, to Canon Anthony Deane; cf. *St. Paul and His Letters*, 77. [4]I Thess. i. 1. [5]I Thess. ii. 5. [6]I Thess. ii. 19-20. [7]I Thess. iii. 12-13. [8]I Thess. v. 16-28. [9]See Renan: *St. Paul*, 231-2. Cf. Seneca: *Quaest. nat.*, IV, 2; V, 11; Statius: *Silv.*, II, vii, 32; Tacitus: *Annals*, VI, 3; XV, 73; XVI, 17. [10]Acts xviii. 14-15. [11]Acts xvii. 18. [12]II Thess. i. 11. [13]II Thess. ii. 13-14; cf. Chap. II, notes 55, 56. [14]Prat: *Theology*, II, 356-364. [15]These paragraphs follow Prat closely in his discussion of Eschatology. [16]For grace and glory, see Terrier: *La Grace et la Gloire*. Cf. Watkin: *The Philosophy of Mysticism*. [17]Rom. ix. 11. [18]Cf. Ps. cvii.

CHAPTER XIV.

[1]II Cor. xi. 24-26; F. A. Spencer: *Beyond Damascus,* 198. [2]Homer: *Iliad,* II, 459-463. [3]See C. & H., *op. cit.;* Renan, *op. cit.* [4]Suetonius: *Nero,* 36; Strabo, XIV, i, 20, 21. [5]Flavius Josephus: *Antiq.,* XIV, x, 11-15; Philo: *Leg.,* 40. [6]See Hastings: *E.R.E.;* Acts xviii. 24-28. [7]For occult phenomena, see Deissmann: *Light from the Ancient East;* E. E. Burrows: *Taboo, Magic and Spirits,* New York, 1931; E. Legge: *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity* (2 Vols.), 1915; L. Thorndike: *History of Magic and Experimental Science,* 1923; Acts xix. 11, 12. [8]Tacitus: *Annals,* XIII, 1. [9]For murder of Aelius and Celer, see Tacitus, *op. cit.,* XIII, 4, 5; Dion Cassius, LXI, 6. Cf. Lewin: *St. Paul,* I, 337-8; Duncan: *St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry,* 101-3. [10]II Cor. xi. 23. [11]I Cor. xv. 30. [12]I Cor. xv. 32. [13]I Cor. i. 8. [14]Rom. xvi. 7. Cf. however S. & H., *ad. loc.* But Professor Duncan is wrong in translating Rom. xvi. 4 "who risked their necks to save me"; the real meaning has been shown by recent research to be "who were devoted to me". S. L. Caiger: *Archaeology and the New Testament* (1939), 144. [15]St. Clement in his *Corinthians,* V. See Duncan, *op. cit.,* 69-70, 131-6. Professor Manson disputes several of these points: *Rylands Bulletin* (1939). He cannot dispose of all. [16]Maurice Jones: *Philippians;* Duncan, *op. cit.;* Manson: "St. Paul in Ephesus", in *Rylands Bulletin* (1939), 5-6. [17]For *Praetorium,* see Mark xv. 16; Acts xxiii. 35. Cf. Matthew xxvii. 27. Cf. Duncan, *op. cit.,* 110; Kittell: *Wörterbuch.* [18]Phil. i. 26. [19]Phil. i. 21. [20]Phil. i. 29-30. [21]Phil. ii. 1-11. [22]W. Walsham How. [23]Phil. iii. 9-11, 20, 21; iv. 4-7. [24]Phil. iv. 8. [25]Phil. iv. 11-13.

CHAPTER XV.

[1]For glossolalia in pagan rites, see Eddison Mosiman: *Das Zungenreden;* Manson: "St. Paul in Ephesus", in *Rylands*

Bulletin (1939), 16-18. [2]K. Lake: *Beginnings of Christianity*, V, 17; cf. Eusebius: *H. E.*, V, 16, 7, 9. [3]Poulain: *Graces of Interior Prayer*. [4]Greville: *Memoirs*, Book II, Ch. xxii.; cf. J. Weiss: *Der Erste Korintherbrief* (Meyer), 335-339. [5]H. L. Goudge: *I Corinthians*, 133-5. [6]For whole subject, see Eddison Mosiman: *Das Zungenreden;* Origen: *Contra Celsum*, VII, 9; cf. Irenæus, V, 61; Farrar: *St. Paul*, 71. [7]See J. Weiss, *op. cit.*, 300-1. [8]Holzner: *Paulus*, 214. [9]Reference to veiling of women, Schweitzer: *Mysticism of Paul*, 10. That the word ἀγγέλοι refers to deacons is suggested by Canon G. C. Richards, D.D., who found it so used by Tertullian, *De Baptismo*, 4: *medicalibus quodammodo aquis per angeli interventum;* and 6, *in aqua emundati sub angelo Spiritui Sancto preparamini.* This, however, appears to be of doubtful application. For in a direct reference to this passage Tertullian speaks of unveiled women arousing the lust of the angels. Tertullian: *De Virginibus velandis.* [10]For points now involved, see T. W. Manson: "St. Paul in Ephesus", in *Rylands Bulletin* (1939). [11]I Cor. i. 12-13. [12]I Cor. i. 18-31. [13]Blass: *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, 300-301. [14]Browning: *Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau.* [15]Acts xix. 9. [16]I Cor. ii. 1. [17]I Cor. ii. 6-9; cf. Is. xliv. 4. [18]I Cor. ii. 10-16; cf. Wisdom ix. 13; Is. xl. 13. [19]I Cor. iii. 7. [20]I Cor. iii. 16-23. [21]I Cor. iv. 4-5. [22]I Cor. iv. 11-13. [23]I Cor. v. 7-8. [24]For Paul on sex morality, see I Cor. vi. 15-20; vii. 1-11, 27-28. [25]I Cor. viii. 1-13; x. 19-20. [26]I Cor. xi. 5-6, 10. [27]I Cor. xi. 6, 14-15. [28]See I Cor. ix. 1. [29]I Cor. ix. 9; cf. Deut. xxv. 4. [30]I Cor. ix. 22-23. [31]I Cor. ix. 26-27. [32]I Cor. x. 19, 22-26, 28-33. [33]I Cor. xi. 26. [34]I Cor. xi. 20-34; x. 16-18 [35]I Cor. x. 16. [36]I Cor. xii. 1-31. [37]For definitions of love, see these: "For those who listen aright to the Divine, the word loving-kindness is used by the sacred writers and the Divine revelation with the same meaning as the word 'love'. It means a power of making one and binding together, and a peculiar commingling in the beautiful and the good" (Dionysius: *De Divinis Nominibus*, IV, 12). "The peculiar quality

of love is to desire to be united and bound together with the beloved object to attain to perfection in the blessing of love" (Crisogono: *San Juan de la Cruz,* I, 336). [38]For a learned analysis of this chapter, see Ramsay: *The Teaching of Paul,* Ch. XLIX. For final passage on Paul's efforts, see Acts xx. 18-35; Holzner: *Paulus,* 260; Harnack: "Paul's Hymn of Love" in *Expositor,* May, June, 1912; Johann Weiss: *I Korintherbrief,* 313 ff. [39]For gnosis, see *The Trinity and the Incarnation,* edited A. E. J. Rawlinson; *Early Gentile Christianity* by A. D. Nock, p. 67, where it is maintained that gnosis is not merely a secret knowledge, but a means of power or regeneration. [40]Shakespeare: "Sonnet". [41]Gregory of Nyssa, *Opera,* Migne, II, 1303. [42]Johann Weiss: *Beiträge zur Paulinischen Rhetorik,* 200. Cf. E. Norden: *Die Antike Kunstprosa,* II, 509: "Together with the elevation of the thought, these assonances and cadences combine to give back to Greek prose something it has lost for centuries, the inwardness, the enthusiasm of a soul at one with God as in the hymns of Cleanthes and certain passages of Plato." [43]Longinus: *De sublimitate.* [44]Wilamowitz-Moellendorff: *Die Futur der Gegenwart,* I, 159. [45]St. Augustine: *De Doctrina Christiana,* IV, 7: *Sicut ergo apostolum praecepta eloquentiae secutum fuisse non dicimus, ita quod ejus sapientiam secuta sit eloquentia non negamus.* Cf. his notes on Romans v. 3-5. [46]Lagrange: *Epître aux Romans,* Introduction, xlvi. [47]For further references to Paul's style, see Nageli: *Das Wortschatz des Apostel Paulus*; Paul Wendland: *Hellenistische-Römische Kultur,* 341-360; Norden: *Die Antike Kunstprosa,* I, 129ss. [48]I Cor. xiv. 8. [49]I Cor. xiv. 9-19; cf. Farrar: *St. Paul.* Few support Blass in his original theory about Paul's artificial rhythms in *Rhythmen des asiatischen und romischen Kunstprosa.* Indeed he himself abandoned it in his *Grammatik des Neutestamentischen Griechisch,* 1913. For influence of the diatribe, see R. Bultmann: *Der Stil der Paulinischen Predigt,* Göttingen, 1910. [50]I Cor. xv. 10-12; cf. I.C.C., I Cor., *ad loc.* [51]I Cor. xv. 12-13. [52]*Ib.* xv. 16-18. [53]*Ib.*

xv. 12, 19. [54]*Ib.* xv. 20-28. [55]*Ib.* xv. 29-32. [56]*Ib.* xv. 33-34. [57]*Ib.* xv. 36-39. [58]*Ib.* xv. 39-57. [59]*De fide et symbolo.* [60]I Cor. xv. 22. [61]*Ib.* xvi. 24.

CHAPTER XVI.

[1]Acts xix. 25-27. [2]Acts xix. 28. [3]Acts xix. 29-34. [4]Acts xix. 36-40. [5]For Paul's subsequent actions, see Canon W. Knox: *St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles*, 144; Hastings' extra vol., 376; Ramsay on Roads and Travel. See also, P. M. Harrison: *Problem of the Pastoral Epistles*, 119, 120; T. W. Manson: "St. Paul in Ephesus," Part III, in *Rylands Bulletin*, 1941. [6]See II Cor. vii. 5-7. [7]II Cor. ii. 13. [8]II Cor. ii. 4. [9]II Cor. ii. 14. Knox: *op. cit.*, 129; cf. Appian: *Punica*, 60. [10]II Cor. ii. 17. [11]*Ib.* iii. 2-3. [12]*Ib.* iii. 16, Περιαιρετῖαι τὸ κάλομμα . [13]*Ib.* iii. 16-18. [14]*Ib.* iv. 7. [15]*Ib.* iv. 8, 9; Plummer: *II Corinthians*, 123, in I.C.C. [16]II Cor. iv. 13, quoting Ps. cvxi. 10. [17]II Cor. iv. 14. [18]*Ib.* iv. 16-18. [19]*Ib.* v. 1-3, 4-6. [20]*Ib.* v. 8-9. [21]*Ib.* v. 14. [22]*Ib.* v. 17. [23]The new word is καταλλάγή , *Ib.* v. 20. [24]The words πρεσϐεύω and πρεσϐύτης in the Greek East for the Emperor's Legate; Deissmann: *Light from the Ancient East*, 379. [25]II Cor. v. 20; cf. Plummer: *II Cor.*, 185. [26]*Ib.* v. 21. [27]*Ib.* vi. 1. [28]Athanasius: *De Incarnatione Verbi*, 54. [29]II Cor. v. 19. For a full discussion of the theories of atonement, see Prat: *Theology*, II, 193-205; cf. H. N. Oxenham: *The Catholic Doctrine of the Atonement* (1881); Westcott: *The Victory of the Cross* (1889); R. C. Moberley: *Atonement and Personality* (1907). [30]II Cor. vi. 3. [31]II Cor. vi. 4-10. [32]Plummer: *II Corinthians*, p. 193. "After the clauses we have a series of severe contrasts, ending with a characteristic three-fold alliteration and an equally characteristic play upon the words". It was praised also by Erasmus and Augustine. See also Chrysostom: Homily 47. [33]For interpretation, see Plummer: *II Corinthians*, I.C.C., p. 202 ff. [34]II Cor. vi. 16; vii. 1. [35]*Ib.* vi. 13; vii. 2, 4,

16; cf., however, Plummer, *op. cit.*, 204. [36]The plea for contribution, viii. 1; ix. 16; cf. Paley: *Horae Paulinae*, II, 1. [37]II Cor. x. 1-6. [38]The majority of scholars at the present day are inclined to think the chapters which follow were written before these which have preceded. Although this would make the argument of the Apostle more logical, there is no internal evidence to support such a conjecture. And St. Paul was not always logical. It is just as reasonable to conjecture that at this point Paul received news which excited him; in any case, the impassioned chapters which follow are typical of the impetuous reaction of his temperament. Plummer, *op. cit.*, xxv; Lake: *Earlier Epistles*, 123, 162. Or one may suppose different chapters to be written with different groups in mind. Holzner: *Paulus*, 317-8. [39]II Cor. x. 18. [40]*Ib.* xi. 2-6. [41]*Ib.* xi. 19-31. [42]*Ib.* xiii. 4-5. [43]*Ib.* xiii. 11-13.

CHAPTER XVII

[1]Almost every point in this chapter is compassed in the classic commentary on *Romans* by Sanday and Headlam, I.C.C. That of Meyer is also good. Much praise has been given to those of Professor C. H. Dodd, 1929, and that of Karl Barth (Eng. trans. by Hoskyns). To these the author prefers Lagrange. [2]Rom. xv. 19. [3]With *Wisdom* is mentioned the opening of *Second Esdras* by H. N. Bate: *A Guide to the Epistles*, 134-5; but parallels are not convincing. [4]Ramsay: *Pauline Studies*, 78. [5]Rom. i. 11. [6]Wisdom xiii. 5-9. [7]*Ib.* xiv. 27. For the influence of *Wisdom* on St. Paul see E. Grope: *Theol. abb. Weizsacker*, 251 ff. [8]Rom. ii. 29. [9]S. & H., 64, 68. [10]Gal. iii. 24-28. [11]For conjecture that Paul prepared part of his Roman Epistle at Jerusalem, see A. M. Pope: *Genesis of the Roman Epistle*, in the *Expositor*, Vol. XI (1921), 361. He quotes Kirsopp Lake and McGiffert. [12]Rom. iii. 28; cf. S. & H., 28-34. [13]Rom. iv. 20. [14]Faith is enthusiastic personal adherence; cf. Newman: *Lec-*

tures on Justification (1838), 308; S. & H., 34. [15]Rom. v. 1-2. [16]*Ib.* v. 2-5. [17]*Ib.* v. 7-11, 17-21; cf. S. & H., 91-4. [18]Newman: *Lectures on Justification* (1838), 184. [19]Rom. vi. 3-4. [20]*Ib.* vi. 5-13; cf. S. & H., 154-5 ff. [21]For definition of grace, see ante, Ch. VII, notes 19 ff. [22]Rom. vi. 15-23. [23]Following first vii. 1-6, then vii. 7-25. [24]Rom. vii. 1-3. [25]*Ib.* vii. 24; cf. earlier Chapter IV, Section 1. [26]Newman: *The Dream of Gerontius.* [27]Rom. vii. 1-11. [28]*Ib.* viii. 14. [29]*Ib.* viii. 11-17. [30]*Ib.* viii. 20. For further elucidation of this, see Dom Bruno Webb: *Why did God permit evil?* Dodd in *Romans* gives a short and clear explanation of this passage. Barth, *Romans,* 305-317, gives another, not clear and not short. [31]Tennyson: *The Dream of Fair Women.* [32]*Op. cit.;* cf. Rom. viii. 22. [33]Rom. viii. 28-30. [34]*Ib.* viii. 31-39. [35]*Ib.* ix. 3-5. [36]The reference to grafting has been supposed to show that St. Paul did not understand grafting. The passage does not prove it. [37]Rom. xi. 33-36. [38]The general argument covers the intervening chapters relating to the peace of the Jews. Again this is a parallel with *Wisdom;* cf. S. & H., 267-9. For reference to Jews and O.T., see S. & H., 261-7, 341-350. [39]Rom. xii. 1-2. [40]*Ib.* xii. 9-21. [41]*Ib.* xiii. 11, 14. [42]*Ib.* xiv. 1-3. [43]*Ib.* xiii. 1-7. [44]*Ib.* xv. 12-13. [45]It is believed by many that Chapter XVI was addressed to Ephesus; cf. G. S. Duncan: *St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry,* 207-8. This suggestion, though valuable, received no support from S. & H.

CHAPTER XVIII

[1]For murder plan see Rackham: *Acts,* 375; Holzner: *Paulus,* 337. [2]Newman: *Historical Sketches* (1865), Vol. I, 21. [3]*Ibidem.* [4]I Cor. v. 7. [5]Phil. i. 8. [6]*Ib.* iv. 7. [7]*Ib.* iv. 8. [8]II Cor. iii. 18. [9]Following Acts xx. 4-6. Cf. Rackham: *Acts,* 375-380; C. & H., II, 203-210. [10]Cf. C. & H., II, 214-234. [11]Acts xx. 19-26. [12]*Ib.* xx. 32-35. [13]*Ib.* xx. 36-38. [14]*Ib.* xxi. 3-6. [15]For Giscala, see Jerome: *De Viris Illustribus,* V. [16]C. & H., Ch. XX, 242. [17]Acts xxi. 11. [18]*Ib.* xxi. 13. [19]*Ib.* xxi. 14.

CHAPTER XIX

[1]Acts xxi. 17. Cf. Renan: *St. Paul*, 509-12; Farrar: *St. Paul*. [2]Holzner: *Paulus*, 342: "*Die offizielle Kirche von Jerusalem hatte für den grössten Apostel kein Quartier*". [3]Acts xxi. 20. [4]The narrative which tempts Renan, Professor Holzner, and the present writer to suspect that the proposal was disingenuous convinces Rackham that Paul had been welcomed sincerely (Renan: *St. Paul*, 514-7; Rackham: *Acts*, 414-5). [5]Acts xxi. 31. [6]*Ib.* xxii. 21. [7]*Ib.* xxii. 22. [8]*Ib.* xxii. 25. [9]*Ib.* xxii. 26. [10]*Ib.* xxii. 27. [11]*Ib.* xxii. 28. [12]This short phrase tells all there is to know about Paul's Roman citizenship and γεχεύνημαι can mean "become" as well as "be born". [13]For Ananias ben Nebedaï, see Renan: *St. Paul*, 528-9; Derenbourg: *La Palestine d'après les Thalmuds*, I, 230 ff. [14]Smith: *D.B.*; Acts xxiii. 3. [15]Acts xxiii. 4. [16]*Ib.* xxiii. 5. [17]*Ib.* xxiii. 6. [18]The story of Felix and Drusilla is based on Tacitus: *Annals*, V. Cf. *History*, XII, 54; Suetonius: *Claudius*, 28, 16, and Josephus: *Antiquities*, XX, vii, 1; XX, viii, 5; *Bell. Jud.*, II, xii, 8; Renan: *St. Paul*, 534-5; Holzner: *Paulus*, 358; Lewin: *St. Paul*. Drusilla was the 17-year-old sister of the Agrippa and Berenice before whom Paul later appeared. The terms of Lysias' report are in Acts xxiii. 26-30. [19]Acts xxiv. 2-8. [20]*Ib.* xxiv. 10-21. [21]*Ib.* xxiv. 24-26; cf. Renan: *St. Paul*, 535. [22]Acts xxiv. 27. [23]*Ib.* xxv. 1-10. [24]*Ib.* xxv. 11. [25]Berenice, a niece of Philo. Dr. Edwyn Bevan attracted the author's attention to this interesting detail. Tiberius Alexander was a nephew of Philo (see Farrar: *St. Paul*, II, 303. Cf. Flavius Josephus: *Antiq.*, XVIII, viii). So therefore also was his brother Archelaus to whom Agrippa I gave as wife Mariamne. Of this marriage was born Berenice (Josephus, *loc. cit.*). [26]For her relations with her brother Agrippa II, see Flavius Josephus: *Antiquities*, XX, vii, 1-3. Cf. Renan: *St. Paul*, 535, 543; Holzner: *Paulus*, 358-359. [27]Acts xxv. 19. [28]*Ib.* xxv. 21, 22. [29]*Ib.* xxvi. 2-23. [30]*Ib.* xxvi. 24. [31]*Ib.* xxvi. 26. [32]*Ib.* xxvi. 27. [33]Had Agrippa spoken in the Latin he learned

at Rome, the expression here translated "a little more" would have been Paullo: a play on the former speaker's name: Acts xxvi. 28. [34]Acts xxvi. 3. For contemptuous sense in ἄνθρωπος, see Moulton and Milligan: *Vocabulary*, Vol. I, 44. [35]Acts xxvi. 32.

CHAPTER XX

[1]Ramsay: *Luke the Physician*, 310. [2]*Ib.*, 310-311. [3]Smith: *D.B.* (1893), Vol. I, 1314. [4]See Appendix II for further notes on authorship. [5]Leonard: *Authorship of Hebrews*, 114. [6]Ramsay: *Luke the Physician*, 327. [7]Ps. cx. 4; cf. Hebrews v. 6-26. [8]Heb. vi. 17-20. [9]*Ib.* vii. 1-3. [10]*Ib.* xiii. 1, 2, 6. [11]Jer. xxxi. 33; Cf. Masure: *Le Sacrifice du Chef*, Conclusion of Book. [12]Heb. ix. 11-13. [13]*Ib.* ix. 14-15. [14]Rom. v. 8-9. [15]Heb. ix. 26. [16]Westcott: 293-4. [17]Westcott: 294. [18]Herond IV, quoted in Festugière: *Le Monde Greco-Romain*, 87-92. [19]Festugière, *op. cit.*, 108-9. [20]Cumont: *The Mysteries of Mithra*, 179-180. [21]Wheeler Robinson: *Religious Ideas of the Jews*. [22]Robertson-Smith: *Religion of the Semites*, 350. [23]Heb. ix. 22-24. [24]Ps. xl. [25]I Cor. xi. 25. [26]Heb. x. 19-20. [27]The sacramental mysteries explain the ritual act of the high priests; Westcott: *Hebrews*, 323, citing Leviticus xvi. 4. Cf. Masure: *Le Sacrifice du Chef*. [28]Heb. xiii. 10. [29]Leo: *Sermons*, LX, 5. [30]I Cor. xi. 27. [31]Heb. x. 29-30. [32]*Ib.* x. 31. [33]*Ib.* xi. [34]*Ib.* xi. 40. [35]Heb. xii. 6; cf. Proverbs xiii. 24. [36]Heb. xii. 10. [37]*Ib.* xii. 21-25. [38]*Ib.* xii. 14. For holiness, see S. & H.: *Romans*. [39]Heb. xiii. 20-21. [40]The references in this section are to I Cor. xi. and Heb. vii.

CHAPTER XXI

[1]Acts xxvii. 1-8. [2]The classic authority on St. Paul's Voyage is H. Smith, 1867. The present exposition also owes much to Captain Codman of Massachusetts, who made a nautical trans-

lation of this chapter. His translation has been published by the author's old friend, Professor S. E. Morrison of Harvard University, who kindly sent him a copy. [3]Acts xxvii. 9-10. For ἄνδρες see Kittel: *Wörterbuch*, I, 363. [4]Acts xxvii. [5]*Ib.* xxvii. 23-26. [6]*Ib.* xxviii. 1-10. [7]The Maltese snake *Coronella austriaca* has, it is true, no poison fangs; but though ignorant people imagine all snakes to be poisonous, the Maltese may then have had a poisonous snake. Ramsay: *Luke the Physician*, 64, 65. The question of Luke's skill having something to do with the cure is brought up also by Ramsay. [8]Shelley: *Ode to the West Wind*. [9]I Tim. i. 11. [10]*Appia longarum regina viarum* (Statius: *Silv.*, 2-12). [11]For Paul's debt to Roman civilisation, see T. W. Manson: *Presidential Address*, Oxford Society of Historical Theology, 1941, p. 74. [12]Acts xxiii. 11; cf. *Ib.* xix. 21; xxvii. 24. [13]*Ib.* xxviii. 16; Suetonius: *Tiberius*, 37; Pliny: *Epistles*, X, 65; Josephus: *Antiquities*, XVIII, vi, 7. [14]For *frumentarius*, see Josephus, *loc. cit.*; Seneca: *De tranquilitate animae*, 10. [15]Josephus: *Antiq.*, XVIII, iii, 5 and XII; Tacitus: *Annals*, II, 83; cf. Renan: *St. Paul*, 536. [16]Acts xxvii. [17]For the reaction, see Renan: *L'Antéchrist*, 6. [18]Acts xxviii. 27. [19]*Ib.* xxviii. 28.

CHAPTER XXII

[1]See Appendix III. Cf. Eusebius: *H.E.*, II, xxii, 2. [2]Renan: *L'Antéchrist*. [3]Momigliano: *Nero*, in C.A.H., Vol. X, 704. [4]For Paul's journey westwards, see C. & H., II. Cf. Rackham: *Acts*, 510-1; Clement: *Epistle to the Corinthians*, V; Prat: *St. Paul*, 188-9. See Appendix III. [5]Plummer: *The Pastoral Epistles*, 10. [6]See Lightfoot: *Dissertation on the Apostolic Age*, 144-155. [7]Dr. Harrison: *Pastoral Epistles*. [8]Lock: *The Pastoral Epistles*, xxii-xxxv. [9]Lock, *op. cit.*, xxix. [10]Ramsay: *Luke the Physician*, 9. [11]See Appendix III. [12]See Appendix III. Lucanus and Aristarchus with Paul, Philemon, 2-4. [13]Philemon, 5-8. [14]For further discussions on Onesimos see Duncan: *St. Paul's*

Ephesian Ministry, 72 ff. Opinions in favour of these epistles being written in Rome were of course general till attention was drawn to the use of πραιτώριον for the establishment of a *proconsul*. [15]Philemon, 16. [16]*Ib.* 17-21. Cf. Paley: *Horae Paulinae* (1825 edn.), 217-236. [17]For a further knowledge of Montanism I am indebted to Mr. G. A. P. Freeman, B.Litt., and his unpublished thesis on the subject. [18]The general attitude of Kolossai is best described by Canon W. Knox: *St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles*, 149-156. [19]Knox, *op. cit.*, 149, 151. Cf. Duncan, *op. cit.*, 76; Col. i. 16-18, 21-22. [20]Col. i. 19. [21]Knox, *op. cit.*, 149, 156. [22]Col. i. 4-6, 12. [23]*Ib.* i. 9-11. [24]*Ib.* i. 13-14. Cf. C. F. Burney: *Journal of Theological Studies*, Jan., 1926. [25]Col. iii. 15-19. [26]Knox, *op. cit.*, 164-5. [27]Col. ii. 26-28. [28]*Ib.* ii. 9-10. [29]*Ib.* ii. 11-12. [30]C. Wordsworth: "See the Conqueror mounts in triumph". [31]St. John of the Cross: *Cántico Espiritual* (2nd redaction), V, 45. [32]St. John of the Cross: *Cánt. Esp.*, XXXIX, 11; Peers, II, 410. [33]Col. iii. 5-14. [34]*Ib.* iii. 15. [35]*Ib.* iii. 16. [36]*Ib.* iii. 17, iv. 1. [37]*Ib.* iv. 6; cf. Ramsay: *S.P.T.*, 148-9. [38]Titus i. 7. [39]*Ib.* iii. 4-7. [40]This exposition closely follows Lock: *Pastoral Epistles*. [41]I Tim. i. 15. [42]*Ib.* ii. 1-3. [43]*Ib.* ii. 9-10. [44]*Ib.* iii. 1-7. [45]*Ib.* iii. 8-13. [46]*Ib.* iii. 11. [47]*Ib.* iv. 4-5. [48]*Ib.* v. 3-12. [49]*Ib.* v. 19-20; Lock, *op. cit.*, 62-3. [50]*Ib.* v. 23. [51]*Ib.* v. 24-5; Lock, *op. cit.*, 62-3. [52]*Ib.* vi. 1-2; Lock, *op. cit.*, 64-5. [53]*Ib.* i. 5-6. [54]*Ib.* vi. 3-5; Lock, *op. cit.* [55]*Ib.* vi. 11-16. [56]*Ib.* vi. 7-10; Lock, *op. cit.*, 67-70. [57]Dante: *Paradiso*. [58]*Pilgrim's Progress* (orig. edn.), p. 152. [59]"St. Paul's epistles are connected with the history by their particularity and by the numerous circumstances which are found in them. When we descend to an examination and comparison of these circumstances we not only observe the history and the epistle to be independent documents unknown to, or at least unconsulted by each other, but we find the substance and often many minute articles of the history recognised in the epistles by allusions and references which can neither be imputed to *design*, nor, without a foundation in truth, be accounted for by accident, by

hints and expressions and single words dropping as it were fortuitously from the pen of the writer, or drawn forth, each by some occasion proper to the place in which it occurs but widely removed from a view to consistency or agreement. These we know are effects which reality naturally produces, but which without reality at the bottom can hardly be conceived to exist." Paley: *Horae Paulinae* (1825), 265-266.

CHAPTER XXIII

[1]The suggestion here made that Paul was arrested in Troas depends on the reference to parchments and cloak left there (II Tim. iv. 13). But it receives support from Lewin, who, however, thinks that the arrest took place at Troas, and that is why cloak and parchments were left behind (*St. Paul*, II, 370). [2]The best commentary on this Epistle to the Ephesians is that of Armitage Robinson. Another excellent one is that of Westcott; nor should that of Hitchcock (1913) be ignored. [3]Eph. i. 4-10. [4]*Ib.* i. 11-12. [5]*Ib.* i. 19-22. [6]*Ib.* i. 23. [7]Prophecies for Easter eve in *Roman Missal*, 2nd collect. [8]Eph. ii. 18. [9]*Ib.* ii. 19-20. [10]Dante: *Paradiso.* [11]Eph. ii. 21-22. [12]*Ib.* iv. 3-6. [13]*Ib.* iv. 12-16. [14]*Ib.* iv. 17-24. [15]*Ib.* iv. 31, v. 3. [16] *Ib.* vi. 1-9. [17]Wordsworth: "King's College Chapel". [18]Eph. vi. 12. W. Knox, *op. cit.*, 202, takes this expression in an astrological sense but κοσμοκράτῶρ also meant an Emperor, the head of a dynasty. Cf. Kittel: *Wörterbuch*, III, 913. [19]Eph. vi. 13-17. [20]See Westcott, *Ephesians*, XXXVIII. [21]Dante: *Paradiso*, XXXIII, 85-88.

CHAPTER XXIV

[1]See Appendix III. Cf. Canon A. Deane: *St. Paul and his Letters*, 252-8. [2]The narrative follows Lock's exposition in I.C.C., *Pastorals.* [3]Lock, *op. cit.*, 82-3. [4]Lock, *op. cit.*, 89. [5]II Tim. iii. [6]*Ib.* iv. 6-8; cf. Lock, III. [7]Ps. xxiii. 4. [8]II Tim. iv.

9-12. Peter spoke in the accents of Paul in I Peter. Cf. E. G. Selwyn, *op. cit.* [9]II Tim. iv. 13. [10]*Ib.* iv. 21. [11]*Ib.* iv. 22. [12]For Nero see Renan: *L'Antéchrist*, 124. A. Momigliano: *Nero*, in C.A.H., X, 717-721. Cf. Suetonius, 20, 23, 24, 29, 39; Josephus: *Antiquities*, XX, viii, 3. [13]Lanciani: *Pagan and Christian Rome*, 1892; cf. A. G. Mackinnon: *The Rome of St. Paul.* [14]For St. Peter in Rome see Lanciani, *op. cit.*; Marucchi: *Christian Epigraphy;* Underhill: *St. Peter;* Renan: *St. Paul;* Rackham: *Acts*, 510-1; E. G. Selwyn: *First Epistle of St. Peter.* [15]For Nero, see further, Renan, *op. cit.*, and Momigliano, *op. cit.* [16]A. Profumo: *Le Fonti e i tempi dell' Incendio Neroniano* (1905). [17]*Ibidem.* [18]St. John of the Cross: *Cántico Espiritual*, 2nd red., XXXIX, 12; Peers, II, 401. Cf. *Mount Carmel*, II, xxii, 12; Peers, II, 180. [19]See further references to his style in Plummer, Maurice Jones, Bossuet: *Panégyrique de St. Paul.* [20]Jerome: *Ad Pammachum*, 62, 13. [21]*Ad. Col.* iv. 16. [22]"Cunning . . . . thought": *Tanta vafrities est non credes eundem* (*Monumentum loqui*, Erasmus, Id. Dedication). [23]Grimm: *Letters* (1788). [24]Renan: *St. Paul*, 232: "*A la fois vif, rude, poli, malin, sarcastique, puis tout à coup tendre, délicat, presque mièvre et câlin, avant l'impression heureux et fine au plus haut degré, habile à semer son style de réticences, de réserves, de précautions infinies, de malignes allusions, d'ironies dissimulées, il devait exulter dans un genre qui exige avant tout du premier mouvement.*" [25]Bonghi: *Lettere Critiche*, 82. [26]Chrysostom: Proem to *Romans.* [27]Plummer, *op. cit.*, 396. [28]Rom. xv. 13.

*APPENDIX I**

THE DATE OF *GALATIANS*

1

AT CHAPTER IX THE NARRATIVE HAS TO THREAD ITS WAY through acute controversy. The famine had been mentioned in Acts xi. 28-30 before the journey to Cyprus and South Galatia. But a discrepancy is suspected between the narrative in Acts xv. and that in Galatians i. This discrepancy, closely connected with the date of *Galatians*, has been dealt with at length by Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 123-128; Ramsay, *Historical Commentary on Galatians;* Kirsopp Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul;* C. W. Emmet in *The Beginnings of Christianity;* and discussed once more by Professor T. W. Manson, *Rylands Bulletin*, Vol. 24, 1940, pp. 69-80. None of these arguments is conclusive.

The writer offers a new suggestion: it is that, when, after the famine had been prophesied, a difficulty arose whether converts to Christianity must accept the Torah and circumcision, Paul and Barnabas found in their contributions during the famine a means to commend their case against the stricter Jews. Following Ramsay, he takes the view that Paul and Barnabas first went to Jerusalem with a contribution and that Peter came back with them, agreeing at first with their broader example, but afterwards—to avoid trouble—appearing to give way to the rigorist Jews who arrived from Jerusalem.

As this question involves the reliability of the *Acts*, and that in turn the date of the Epistle to the Galatians, it is better to discuss that question at once.

On the authority of Lightfoot, the Epistle was for many

*As explained in the Preface, these appendices are inserted to explain how the biographer threads his way around obstacles, and not to settle controversies between learned authorities who may each claim a right to his opinion, and allow a similar right to another.

years supposed to have been written in Corinth in the seventh year of St. Paul's great journeys, and immediately before *Romans*. As Lightfoot knew of Galatia only as the Angora region, colonised by Gauls, he could not place *Galatians* early, and on account of its resemblance to *Romans* it was taken that it must have been written at the same time, to deal with the same problem.

The difficulty about this acceptance was that there is in *Galatians* no mention of the Council at Jerusalem in Acts xv. Lightfoot therefore puts forward a very able and ingenious case that the Council took place on the occasion of St. Paul's second visit to Jerusalem, as related in Galatians i. 18. This contention followed the line taken by earlier biographers of St. Paul and has been accepted by conservative scholars, Prat and Lagrange, in the course of the last twenty years.

The trouble is, however, that this theory is *too* ingenious. This was shown by Ramsay who, as the result of archaeological researches on the spot, saw that St. Paul always referred to districts by the names by which they were known to the Roman administration. This brings two districts, Phrygia and Lycaonia, visited by St. Paul in his first recorded journey, into what he called *Galatia* (Cf. Rackham: *Acts*, 195-6).

Ramsay worked out this theory in his *Historical Commentary on the Galatians*, and also in *The Teaching of Paul*. He reminds us that this Epistle was sent from "Paul and all the brethren who were with him". It came with the authority of a Church which the recipients respected. There could be only two such churches, Jerusalem and Antioch. But no one pretends that the Epistle was written from Jerusalem (Cf. Gal. i. 18). Therefore, Ramsay concludes, it *was* written from Antioch.

2

This is also the argument of Douglass Round in *The Date of Galatians*, as also that of Kirsopp Lake in *Earlier Epistles*

of St. Paul, and C. W. Emmet in *The Beginnings of Christianity*, II, 282 ff. Renan (pp. 313-4) and F. A. Spencer (pp. 297-8) take it that it was written at Antioch after the second recorded journey: but they do not argue this. Ramsay, on the other hand, produces cogent reasons why it was written before that journey (*Historical Commentary*, Chaps. XIX, XX). The main reason is a perfectly simple one. It is that St. Paul does not mention the Council at Jerusalem, which took place on his third visit (Acts xv.).

Now it is perfectly true that Paul does not mention this Council in *Romans* or in any other Epistle: but the Epistle is not biographical like that of *Galatians*, where he is emphasizing each occurrence that led to his position.

Ramsay's contention is furthermore supported by the words: "I marvel that ye have so soon turned back", with which the letter opens. They suggest that the letter was written just after he had been with them for the first time.

3

The early date for *Galatians* is accepted not only by the Jesuits, Cornely and Crampon, but by the Anglicans, Dean Bate and Canon Deane, and the Munich professor, Josef Holzner. It has, however, been contested by the Dean of Christ Church (in an unpublished paper, courteously placed at the disposal of the writer), who follows Professor Manson's address to the Oxford Society of Historical Theology (also courteously placed at the writer's disposal). Furthermore, it has been ignored by both Prat and Lagrange; nevertheless, it appears to the present writer the only satisfactory solution of a long controversy. He thinks that neither Prat nor Lagrange, nor the Dean of Christ Church, nor Professor Manson does full justice to Ramsay, nor yet to Kirsopp Lake.

Placed in this position, the letter which was read at Antioch before it was sent (see Ramsay, *Historical Commentary on*

Galatians) would pursue a double purpose. It would settle the question for those among whom it was written, as it settled the question for those to whom it was addressed. When Paul passed later on his journey through these districts there is no mention of further difficulty.

4

How then are we to account for the marked resemblances not only in thought but in actual expression between *Romans* and *Galatians* if they were written at an interval of some seven years?

This is not difficult. As Paul found the same problem constantly recurring, as it was the main problem of his career, it must always have been at his fingers' ends. And his memory was excellent. But A. M. Pope, in the *Expositor* (Vol. XXI, 1920, p. 363), furnishes the further suggestion that the first eleven chapters of *Romans* were a recapitulation of the case Paul had laid before the council at Jerusalem.

In any case, to argue that a man with so elastic a genius as that of Paul could not recall for a similar purpose the argument he had used several years before is arbitrary. There is therefore no solid case against the early date for this Epistle: but to place it in this early date harmonises both with every word in the Epistle, every sentence in *Acts*, and the general development of Paul's life.

5

It has been common among German critics to consider Luke's narrative unreliable: but to this the answer of Ramsay is sufficient. "This is not the case of two commonplace, imperfectly educated and not very observant witnesses who give divergent accounts of certain incidents which they saw without paying much attention to them. We have here two men of high educa-

tion, one writing a formal history, the other speaking under every obligation of honour and conscience to be careful in his words: the subjects they speak of were of the most overpowering interest to both: their points of view must be very similar, for they were personal friends, and one was the teacher of the other and, naturally, had moulded his mind during long companionship. If ever there was a case in which striking agreement was demanded by historical criticism between two classes of documents, it is between the writings of Paul and Luke" (*St. Paul the Traveller*, 15).

6

In 1941, Professor Manson restated some of the difficulties which Baur brought up a hundred years ago: (1) At no point does Paul refer to the authority of the Council. (2) During his stay in Ephesus, Paul is still fighting for his status: a party at Corinth invokes Peter against him, and Paul does not quote any authority in reply. (3) In fact, after the Council, Paul's letters show no sign that the tension was resolved: after the Council, Paul circumcised Timothy. (4) In Galatians ii. 7 ff., Peter is entrusted with the gospel of the Circumcision and an apostolate of the Circumcision. In Acts xv. Peter presents himself as an apostle of the heathen. (Manson's *Presidential Address to Oxford Society of Historical Theology*, 1941, pp. 9-10). Baur therefore concluded that *Acts* was a picture of the 2nd century, written to reconcile Peter and Paul. This no scholar now accepts, but Professor Manson thinks that *Acts* was written after the Jewish revolt of 66-70, when the Christians wished to place themselves on the Roman side against the Jews (Manson, *op. cit.*, p. 12).

Professor Manson is perfectly right in seeing with Baur that the chief difficulty of Paul's whole career—at least till he came in conflict with the Gnostic heresy at Colossæ—was the desire of the Jewish Christians to keep the Church a department of

Judaism: but the real question which Professor Manson at that time passed over is the fact that Peter, in spite of what was said in Galatians ii. does also become an apostle to the Gentiles (Acts xv. 7).

That Paul was never a *persona grata* at Jerusalem is, of course, true. But this is no reason to read into the factiousness of Corinth, and the arrival there of Jews hostile to Paul, a deliberate personal war between Paul and Peter; the conjecture of one man, even though he is a German, is not enough to undermine a tradition existing from the earliest times. Let us turn from Baur to Renan: Renan sees the signs of sharp disputes, but with them of deep underlying agreement. "*Il faut aussi dans l'appréciation de ces débats tenir grand compte du caractère juif, vif et susceptible, porté aux violences de langage. Dans ces petites coteries pieuses on se brouillait, on se raccommodait sans cesse; on avait des mots aigres et néanmoins on s'aimait*" (*L'Antéchrist*, p. 33).

It is easy to explain why St. Paul does not refer again to the council at Jerusalem. It was convoked to settle a dispute at Antioch. It did not leave in Paul's mind the idea of a dogmatic and fixed pronouncement. His mind and moods were constantly adjusting themselves to new conditions: he became more and more cognisant of the Greco-Roman world. So also did St. Peter, who was also a traveller. But the more conservative and pharisaical Jewish Christians never reconciled themselves entirely either to Paul or to his policy. Both were the objects of their constant suspicion: if they came among his missions, it was to criticise; the criticism would take any form that appealed to the ingenuity of Jewish malignance: to depreciate Paul himself, to question the effect he produced, to assert that he was a departure from the true religion, the religion of Christ and of Peter.

So in all times and in all places do the narrow and bigoted attack the more subtle and exalted spirits: so do the conservative and sluggish impede reform. But there is no reason to identify Peter with this attitude. Affected by it from time to

time he might be, but he too was the object of its hostility, and not the less because he worked chiefly among the Jews. The Roman tradition which names Peter and Paul together is supported by the obvious influence of Paul on Peter's first epistle (see Renan: *L'Antéchrist*, pp. 32-34; E. G. Selwyn: *Peter*). No idea of a fixed enmity is mentioned by Foakes Jackson in his *Peter, Prince of Apostles*, or Bishop Francis Underhill in his *St. Peter*. The mere existence of a Peter faction at Corinth coincided with that of an Apollos faction: but no one has suggested that there was a permanent conflict between Paul and Apollos: nor is there ground for thinking of it, in the case of Paul and Peter—even if Augustine's interpretation of the incident at Antioch should be preferred to that of Jerome and Origen.

APPENDIX II

THE AUTHORSHIP OF *HEBREWS*

THE ARGUMENT OF LEWIS WAS STATED FIRST IN "THE THINKER," Oct. and Nov., 1893, and afterwards in the *Biblical World*, Aug., 1898 and April, 1899. Resemblances to Paul's speech to Festus and Agrippa in Acts xxvi. 2-23 were noted by Ramsay in *Luke the Physician*, 327 (cf. Lewis, *supra*). Lewin believes that St. Paul was actually the author (*St. Paul*, II, 302). So also does Bishop Wordsworth: as Paley and Lardner before him. For the 46 words, see Leonard: *The Authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews*, p. 113.

Although the writer, on the recommendation of Sir William Ramsay, places the epistle in connection with St. Paul's imprisonment at Cæsarea, he was first inclined to conceive it being composed at Pozzuoli or some other Italian port after St. Paul's release from his first imprisonment. It was so that the phrase, "They of Italy salute you" (xiii. 24) seemed most apposite, as "They of Asia salute you" comes from Ephesus in I Cor. xvi. 9. But this phrase could be applied to a port where many Romans came. The suggestion which recommended itself to the present writer received powerful support from one of the most learned theologians of the 18th Century: see Nathaniel Lardner: *Works*, 1831, Vol. VI, 110. All the facts now available had already been taken into consideration by Lardner.

He is followed by Lewin: *St. Paul*, Vol. II, ch. vii.

It is not uncommon for men talking about *Hebrews* to quote from the saying of Origen, "Who wrote it, God knows": these words taken by themselves are misleading. What Origen wrote was this: "If I were setting forth my own judgment, I should say that the thoughts are the Apostle's, but the diction and composition are due to some one who has taken notes of the

master's teaching. If, then, any Church holds this epistle as Paul's it may be left happily in its belief: for it was not at random that the ancient tradition attributed it to him: but who it was who wrote it down, God knows. Some say that Clement, who became Bishop of the Romans, wrote the Epistle, others that Luke wrote it".[1] This is powerful evidence. Writing less than a hundred years after the death of St. Paul, Origen says that a powerful tradition not without reason attributed the Epistle to him.

This statement was nevertheless contravened by Tertullian;[2] it was implicitly denied in the Muratorian Canon,[3] but it receives again strong support from Clement of Alexandria, who wrote, "that the epistle is Paul's, and it was written to the Hebrews in the Hebrew language, and that Luke translated it with zealous care and published it to the Greeks, whence it is that the same complexion of style is found in the translation of this Epistle and of the Acts: that the phrase, Paul the Apostle, was not placed at the head of the Epistle for good reason; for, he says, in writing to the Hebrews who had formed a prejudice against him and viewed him with suspicion, he was wise not to put his own name there."[4]

That Clement of Rome himself knew the Epistle is proved in his *Epistle to the Corinthians,* Ch. XXXVI, written some thirty years after Paul's death, but he says nothing about its authorship. It was not until later centuries that the Western Church agreed with Clement of Alexandria, and with Origen.

When witness fails, scholars have turned to internal evidence. On the strength of style, the opinion of the last fifty years has not stopped at the judicious position taken by Westcott: but in 1939 the whole matter was reviewed in a learned work of Dr. Leonard who found strong internal reasons against the statements first made by Bleek and Windisch, and afterwards widely accepted. Leonard admitted that τελείωσις,

[1] Eusebius: *H. E.*, VI, 25. [2] Leonard: *The Authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews*, 6.
[3] *Ibid.*, 5. [4] Eusebius: *H. E.*, VI, 14. Translation by Westcott.

not δικαιοσύνη, was the author's ideal: that the power of the Resurrection is replaced by Christ's entry through the blood of His sacrifice into the sanctuary of heaven: that Mosaism is viewed not as a moral but a sacerdotal code, and that the word faith has changed its connotation to something more intellectual.

But still stronger are the arguments of style. The abrupt edges, the impetuous rush, the incisive personal argument of Paul are changed for a calm artistic regularity. The colour is Levitical, the rhythm has a rhetorical perfection, the sentences are knit together in calm artistry, periods are balanced and rounded, transitions are skilful, exhortation intermingles with the whole argument instead of being reserved to the end. The imagery changes—the human body is regarded as a veil; the expressions "in Christ" and "in the Lord" disappear; and the movement is regular, not impassioned and impulsive. Such are the objections with which Professor Leonard deals in his imposing book of research.

He notes that the mention of Timotheos comes from no one so well as from Paul.[5] That the formal salutations are typical of Paul;[6] that the last words occur something like thirty times;[7] that the theology of angels is St. Paul's;[8] that the view of human sinfulness is St. Paul's;[9] that the view of the Torah as a preparation is St. Paul's;[10] that the view of Christ is St. Paul's;[11] that, though the soteriology of *Hebrews* has a liturgical and sacerdotal colour, the view of redemption is the same;[12] that the doctrine of faith and justification is that of *Romans;*[13] that faith here is linked, as elsewhere in St. Paul, with both obedience and hope;[14] that the doctrine of the Holy Spirit is that of St. Paul;[15] that though the words are changed, the idea of a Church remains as citizenship, a participation in Christ and His Spirit;[16] that this Epistle has similar ideas of death and judgment;[17] that it teaches that Christ is a cosmic mediator to whom all things are put in subjection.[18]

[5]41. [6]42. [7]42. [8]47-49. [9]49-51. [10]51-53. [11]53-66. [12]66-75. [13]75-82. [14]82-90. [15]90-92. [16]95. [17]91-103. [18]102-106.

But the question of *Hebrews* being in agreement with Paul's doctrine has never been seriously in question. It has been agreed that it was written by someone who was at least fully cognisant of the lines of his teaching. The real question is how far the book shows such marks of diction and style that would justify one in thinking that Paul gave more than the basic ideas to the book. In this field Professor Leonard's research has reached some surprising results.

He deals first with the question of those unique words and expressions known to New Testament scholars as ἅπαξ λεγόμενα. Taking the original number of these to be after careful scrutiny 150, he points out that those in the Pastoral Epistles are 170. Now the Pastoral Epistles are not themselves universally accepted, but since the argument for a forgery is not accepted either, the more favoured notion is that, though they may not all have been written as printed, yet they were St. Paul's work (see Appendix III).

But apart from this, of the 150 words in *Hebrews*, 20 were taken direct from the Septuagint. Of these, no less than another 76 occur in the *Wisdom* literature. This leaves only 54 words. Of these 8 are adjectives or privatives. Of the residue of 46 words, most fit into the scheme of Paul's thought and imagery.[19]

But there is a yet more remarkable observation. It is that there are common, both to *Hebrews* and other Epistles which have been attributed to St. Paul, 56 words: if we take from these the words peculiar to the Pastorals, there are still 46 common expressions. In *Hebrews* there are 13 *chapters*. This means that on an average there are more than three words in each chapter which *Hebrews* shares and shares alone with Epistles certainly written by Paul. "No other personal vocabulary that is known to us, not only in Christian literature but in the whole range of Hellenistic literature", says Dr. Leonard, "coincides so much with the vocabulary of St. Paul as the 990

[19] Leonard, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-115.

words which make up the lexicon of the Epistle to the Hebrews".[20]

A whole series of particles ἐάν, εἰ οὐ, εἰ μή, εἰ καί, ὅταν ὅτε, ὥστε, μηδείς, μηδε, ἄρα, πάντοτε and the yet more frequent εἴ τις, εἴτε, εἰ πώς ποτε, εἰ δὲ καί, εἴπερ, ἐκτός, εἰ μή, εἰ γε, μή πῶς, μηκέτι, μεν οὖν γε all disappear: but none of these occur with exclusive frequency in other Epistles: and all might be corrected or eliminated by a skilful redactor, who apparently also had a taste for hyperbaton and the genitive absolute.[21]

The Epistle shares with St. Paul's admitted Epistles both antithesis and chiasmus, the oratorical imperative and the oratorical question, paronomasia, alliteration and assonance, the rhetorical repetition of a certain word, the triplets of adjectives, and the amphora.[22] What of imagery? In *Hebrews* there are nine different ranges of imagery: (1) the house and family; (2) the body; (3) nature; (4) religion; (5) agriculture; (6) soldiers; (7) sailing; (8) movement; (9) games. All of these can be paralleled in other Epistles, and where a new image comes in, such as *sabbath*, or *city*, or *anchor*, it can be explained either by the object of the Epistle, or by Paul's widening experience.[23] So experienced a sailor as Paul was familiar with the use of the anchor, though the word may have been suggested by Lucanus, who was still more interested in nautical things. With further thoughts of Rome, and of Jerusalem, it is natural to bring in the word city. The more closely one examines the imagery, the more one notices echoes of that used by Paul.

It is, of course, true that there is in this Epistle a sense of ordered construction lacking in all other Epistles: *sic non est aliqua scriptura quae ordinate procedat in ordine verborum et sentantiis sicut ista*", said St. Thomas. "Each element", said Westcott, "which seems at first sight to offer itself spontane-

[20] Leonard, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-119. [21] Leonard, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-125. [22] Leonard, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-138. [23] Leonard, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-145.

ously, will be found to have been carefully adjusted to its place, and to offer in subtle details results of deep thoughts so expressed as to leave the simplicity and greatness of the whole perfectly unimpaired".[24] But though themes once touched are here taken up again till the whole is of such a unity as cannot be paralleled in St. Paul, yet there are many examples of this mode of argument.[25]

Blass, in his earlier work on Asiatic prose rhythms, believed that he detected in *Hebrews* the same rhythms as in the Epistles which are generally ascribed to Paul, but few believe there are such rhythms.

And, finally, while *Hebrews* xii. 3 recalls from *Wisdom* that argument of God's grandeur from creation which had already been quoted, as we have seen, in the first chapter of *Romans*, the hieratic tone in the Epistle finds its parallel in other Epistles of Paul.[26] (See Leonard, *op. cit.*, p. 44.)

[24] Westcott: *Hebrews*, XLVI-XLVII. See Romans v. 1-11, vi. 12-14, vi. 19-25; Gal. iii. 1-29, iv. 12-20.

[25] Blass: *Die rhythmische Komposition des Hebraen Brief* (Theol. und Kritik, 1902).

[26] Cf. Romans xv. 15-20; II Cor. ii. 15; Phil. ii. 17, iv. 18, and even II Thess. ii. 13, as well as Eph. v. 2.

APPENDIX III

THE PASTORAL EPISTLES

HORT, IN HIS "JUDAISTIC CHRISTIANITY" (pp. 130-131), DISposed of the general arguments then current against the Pastoral Epistles: "To the best of my belief they are genuine and that not merely in parts. (1) It is true that the Pastoral Epistles imply a period of activity in St. Paul's life of which we have no further evidence; but neither is there any evidence against it. (2) The ecclesiastical arrangements are said to be a fiction of a later time: but this is mainly owing to misunderstanding of the ecclesiastical arrangements already implied; partly also to arbitrary assumptions as to the date of institutions. (3) The doctrines condemned are said to belong to no earlier time than the 2nd Century; but this, as we shall see, is due to a misunderstanding of what the doctrines really are". (He deals with this on pp. 143-6.)

The real difficulties, said Hort, lie in the field of language, and for this he refers to Bernhard Weiss's introduction to his Meyer Commentary. Meyer, however, does not attack the Pauline authorship. On the contrary he suggests that those who doubt it have raised unnecessary difficulties: *Alle solche Hypothesen gänzlich in der Luft schweben und sich kaum irgend eine klare Vorstellung von Zweck und Art solcher Billette gewinnen lässt, wie sie hier vorausgesetzt werden, erschwert diese ganze Annahme das Problem, statt es zu erleichtern* (p. 68).

The genuineness of the Pastorals was strongly supported by Vernon Bartlet in the *Expositor*, Jan.-May, 1913. He insisted that if we want to consider Paul, as he was, not a formal writer of theology but a missionary, then we must accept these Epistles.

Such was the dominant conviction of British scholars till Dr.

Harrison produced his book in 1921. But though he establishes the fact that there are 306 words which occur in these three Epistles, and no others, the number of words per page rising on an average to 33, whereas the highest in any other Epistle was 17, the force of his contention disappears when we see that the highest proportion elsewhere is in *I Corinthians*, then in *II Corinthians*. For in these Paul was dealing with peculiar difficulties. In *Colossians* the figure is 10, in *Ephesians* 12.

The industry and ingenuity of Dr. Harrison have, it is true, left an impression on Professor Nock (*St. Paul*, 231) and Canon Knox (*St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles*), but they are discounted by Lock, who repeats what Vernon Bartlet had already insisted, that the words were such as one would expect from Paul (see Lock: *Pastoral Epistles*, p. xxix). Among later scholars, this view is taken by Dean Bate, by Canon Deane, by Prat.

But since Dr. Harrison's argument is thoroughly ingenious, it deserves a little more consideration. This has been given in an unpublished paper by the Revd. John Coutts, who points out that the number of words shared by the Pastoral Epistles with those of Paul is 542.

Mr. Coutts points out that Dr. Harrison's graphs are misleading in that Harrison arranges the order of the Epistles to force the graph into an ascending line. The Epistles are arranged differently in each graph. And if drawn in the order suggested as chronological in the biography, the graphs would show a steep *fall* before the Pastorals. They would become so erratic as to prove nothing.

Showing in II and III a preliminary variation of 75 per cent, it would prepare us for another sharp jump.

But if "stylometric analysis" of this kind is to be applied to Paul, it should be controlled by other examples. What does this control prove? Lutoslawski in his *Origin and Growth of Plato's Logic*, arrived at an absolutely different conclusion from A. E.

Taylor when he was employing similar methods in *Plato, the Man and His Work.* The results, in other words, depend on the man who is working.

When we examine the actual words more closely, we are led to the conclusion that most of the 306 words adduced by Harrison are wholly different words: this is not the case. Many are such words as ἄλλως, διώκτης which are words already used by St. Paul as another part of speech, or are compounds, such as δίλογος, ματαιολογία, of words he had already used. This is the reason why Lock, after seeing Harrison's case, rejects the argument of peculiar words—as Bartlet and Ramsay had done before seeing it. In fact the Pastoral Epistles have only 175 words not found elsewhere in the New Testament, and of these many are found as other parts of speech in St. Paul himself. On closer scrutiny, the linguistic argument is really much weaker than Dr. Harrison would allow.

Dr. Harrison's argument depends on the idea that Paul never escaped from his first imprisonment. But against this we have the testimony of Clement and Eusebius, of the Muratorian Fragment, and indirectly of *Romans.*

There remains the final argument: does the situation suggested by the Pastorals differ from that of St. Paul's lifetime? Bartlet and Ramsay have already said *No.* To this one may add a quotation from the final pages of Mr. Coutts's MS.

"There remains the argument that the circumstances implied by the Epistles fit in remarkably well with various different points in the narrative of Luke in *Acts.* Goudge's criticism in G.G.G. seems to lessen the force of this already trivial argument.

"There remain the arguments based on ecclesiastical organization, situation, and the prevalence of false doctrine. Far from finding this to be so, we find, on a casual reading, numerous echoes of the state which we find elsewhere. There are men who teach a different doctrine, as there are in Galatians. These men seem (I Tim. iii. and sq.) to be Jews or Judaizers, for the

mention of the law follows soon, and for the preoccupation with genealogies we are referred to the Book of Tabilus. (It seems these enquiries after genealogies were such as resulted in the genealogies of Matthew and Luke. We can imagine St. Paul's contempt for those who thus seek to know Christ after the flesh.) Men exalt themselves as teachers of the law. The law is good, but not made for the just, i.e., the justified. Cf. Romans vii. 12: 'So that, the law is holy, and the commandment holy, righteous and good'. But 'before faith came' (and with it justification) 'we were kept in ward under the law'—Gal. iii. 23. Paul recounts his past life. Hymenæus and Alexander are delivered to Satan for a reformative purpose, that they may be taught not to blaspheme. Cf. I Cor. ii. 3: 'to deliver such a one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus'.

"There follows on this a series of passages which bear remarkable parallels to I Corinthians.

"(1) The position of women: 'But I permit not a woman to teach . . . for Adam was first formed, then Eve' (ii. and sq.). 'Let the women keep silence in the Churches' (I Cor. xiv. 34).

"(2) In *Corinthians*, St. Paul gives a series of rulings. He refuses to forbid idol meats. Yet he advises against them for the sake of the weaker brother. He will not forbid marriage, but says the unmarried state is better. He advises unmarried and widows to remain so, if they safely can. Out of this we expect extremists to arise, and, in fact, St. Paul's words in *I Corinthians* are probably elicited by extremists. Thus in *I Timothy* he inveighs against teachers 'forbidding to marry and commanding to abstain from meats which God created to be received with thanksgiving.' This is a possible reference to unclean beasts. Further, he has to regulate the status of those widows who accepted his challenge to remain unmarried. They are to be honoured, but not to neglect their children. They are not to be recognised under the age of sixty in view of scandals which have arisen.

"The attitude to slavery is exactly that found in Philemon.

"These form the obvious parallels. Let us consider the passages we have omitted. Timothy is clearly given directions to appoint presbyters (I Tim. v. 2) and given directions concerning their characters (evidently very necessary, since the Corinthian elders had tolerated incest in their priests). [The notice seems to contemplate a ministry of Presbyter-Bishops and deacons.] Now, in St. Paul's final speech to the Ephesian church, we find Presbyter-Bishops (Acts xx. 17, 28); Timothy is told to appoint Presbyters. Paul appointed such himself in the Churches of S. Galatia, and it seems natural that he should delegate this work to his trusted disciple if he were absent and need for new appointments arose.

"The prayers for the kings are in undoubted line with St. Paul's thought (Romans xiii. 1-3).

"Thus the hasty examination of *I Timothy* shows nothing contrary either in situation, church government or organisation to what we should expect.

"To sum up. The linguistic evidence is nothing like so strong as Harrison makes out. The historical arguments are worthless. There is no sufficient ground for denying the Pauline authorship of the Pastorals as they stand, considering the external evidence. (Echoes in Ep. Barn., Clem. Rom., Ignatius, Polycarp, admitted by Clem. A., Tertullian, Irenæus.)

"Further, if, as we may reasonably assume, there was by this time a body of directions used by the other apostles and missionaries for the direction of the churches, and nothing seems more likely, then it is surely more likely, if we have to admit non-Pauline matter, that St. Paul included part of these directions in his own letter, than that a second-century writer included scattered fragments of St. Paul in a composition of his own". It might be remarked in conclusion that the arguments in Paley's *Horae Paulinae* (1790) summed up the scholarship of preceding centuries and continued to be respected for over a hundred years by eminent scholars. Paley's animadversions and

sinewy arguments on the Pastorals are in his chapters XI-XIII.

As for the recent suggestion that Paul's name was used as a literary convention not intended to deceive, Paley's word also carries weight: "Until the conclusion of the fourth century, no intimation appears of any attempt whatever being made to counterfeit these writings" (Paley: *Horae Paulinae* (1825), 263-4).

APPENDIX IV

THE AUTHORSHIP OF *EPHESIANS* AND *COLOSSIANS*

THAT ST. PAUL WROTE EITHER "COLOSSIANS" OR "EPHESIANS" was denied by almost every liberal Lutheran writer of the nineteenth century. It will be sufficient to cite the names of Holtzmann, author of an *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 1892; Pfleiderer, author of *Der Paulinismus*, 1890; Weiss; Soden; Klöpper and, later, Wendland, author of *Hellenistische-Römische Kultur*, 1912. But ingenious and painstaking as their work was, it has proved nothing. It was very thoroughly dealt with by Hort in his famous *Prolegomena* to *Romans and Ephesians*. He there examines with the utmost care the external evidence (111-118). This leads him to the following conclusion: "In the authorities certainly belonging to the first century, Clement of Rome, and The Two Ways, we have highly probable, though not absolutely certain, evidence. Of Hermas, a writer who also may belong to any time early in the second century, much the same may be said, though here the probability almost reaches certainty. In Ignatius, probably about ten years from the beginning of the century, we find absolute certainty, in one case(ὡς ὁ κύριος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν) as well as high probability in others. Lastly, in Polycarp, there are two clear quotations which do not admit of doubt. From Barnabas and from the Didache—except The Two Ways —we obtain no evidence. Thus it is all but certain on this evidence that the Epistle to the Ephesians was in existence by about 95 A.D.; quite certain that it was in existence by about fifteen years later, or conceivably a little more" (p. 118).

With regard to internal evidence, Hort made an exhaustive study of the German critics already mentioned, as well as of the text itself of both *Ephesians* and *Colossians*. His conclusion

is as follows: "The more closely we scrutinise those parts of both Epistles which most nearly resemble each other—scrutinise them comparatively and scrutinise them in their respective contexts—the less possible it becomes to find traces of a second-hand, imitative character about the language of either. The stamp of freshness and originality is on both; and thus the subtle intricacies of likeness and unlikeness are a peculiarly strong kind of evidence for identical authorship, whether the author is St. Paul or another. Whatever, therefore, supports the genuineness or the lateness of either Epistle, does the same for the other. In both we have not merely the *prima facie* evidence of his name both in the text and in the unanimous ancient tradition, but close, and yet for the most part not superficial, connections in language with his other Epistles, and that not such a connection as can with any reasonable probability be explained by the supposition of borrowing. Above all, we find in both the impress of that wondrous heart and mind" (*Prolegomena*, p. 168).

So exhaustive was Hort's scrutiny of the evidence, and so definite his conclusions, that Armitage Robinson, in his critical edition, 1903, stated that there was nothing more to say. Westcott, in 1906, set out verbatim (pp. xxv to xxxii) the external evidence on which Hort had based his conclusions. He then proceeds to examine *Ephesians* in relation to the other Epistles of St. Paul (pp. xxxvii-liii). His conclusion he sets down in the words of Llewelyn Davies (p. xxxvi): "Those who cannot read the Epistle to the *Ephesians* without being awed by the peculiar loftiness, by the grandeur of conception, by the profound insight and by the eucharistic inspiration which they recognise in it, will require strong evidence to persuade them it was written by some other man who wished it to pass as St. Paul's. Apart from the question of the morality of the act, imitators do not pour out their thoughts in the free and fervid style of this Epistle. Nor can we easily imagine how such an imitation could have been successful either near the time of

St. Paul or at any subsequent period. It is not conceivable that it should have made its appearance without exciting wonder and enquiry. In the lifetime of St. Paul the pious fraud would not have been attempted. Within a few years of his death, the difficulty of deceiving his friends and the Church in such a matter must have been very great. At a later time the estimation in which St. Paul's writings were held would have ensured the careful scrutiny of any previously unknown work put forward in his name" (Llewelyn Davies: *Introduction to Ephesians*, p. 9).

We may put this contention more tersely. It is that we must suppose a literary inventor—if not an actual forger—to have had a genius greater than that of St. Paul, to have been able to put the stamp of genius on his counterfeit till his gift of trickery became sublimity. We must then imagine him to have brought out his forgery so adroitly as to impose on Paul's closest friends—if he were already dead; to have evaded Paul himself if he were living. We cannot be surprised that both Abbott before Westcott and Gore after him refused to entertain such an hypothesis—especially as it was unsupported by evidence. One would have thought that only German credulity was equal to so bold an acceptance of the idea of clever invention—if not imposture—in a book venerated as sacred through the ages. But it is not so. Both Professor Nock and Canon Knox have hammered at this door, while an American, Professor Goodspeed, has hastened past them. While accepting *Colossians* for St. Paul they deny him *Ephesians* (see Nock: *St. Paul*, 231; Knox: *St. Paul and the Gentiles*, 182-5). But they produce no new evidence; and, to ring the changes on their ingenuity, the latest to produce a book on the subject, Mr. Synge, pursues with equal enterprise, and certainly far more plausibility, the hypothesis that Paul wrote *Ephesians* but not *Colossians* (F. C. Synge: *Ephesians*, 69-76).

Such are but a few of the variations of conjecture which persuade a biographer that he is safer to follow the historic

documents rather than the most novel or audacious flights of supposition issuing from Lutheran Germany where, since these lucubrations were indulged, religion has practically broken down, and where Ramsay's warning of forty years before has been vindicated in two successive wars.

For further considerations on this subject one might prudently retrace one's steps to Paley's *Horae Paulinae*, which, even if it was published in 1790, set down evidence which should not be ignored.

APPENDIX V

ST. PAUL'S ESSENTIALS

FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE END PAUL HAD CONSISTENTLY proclaimed that the Divine purpose was to incorporate men into Christ that they might share through grace in His goodness and in that awful and immaculate purity which is holiness.

(1) "God sent His Son", he wrote in *Galatians*, "that we might receive the adoption of sons, and because we are sons, God has sent forth the Spirit of His Son into our hearts.[1] . . . If we live in the Spirit let us also walk in the Spirit.[2] For the fruits of the Spirit are love, joy, peace."[3]

(2) Writing first to the Thessalonians he said: "This is the will of God—your sanctification; for God has called us not to uncleanness but to holiness."[4]

(3) Writing to them a second time he said: "God has from the beginning chosen you to salvation through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth to which He called you through our evangel to the obtaining of the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ."[5]

(4) Writing first to the Corinthians he wrote: "Christ Jesus is from God made unto us wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption: he also will confirm you to the end that you may be blameless."[6]

(5) Writing to the Philippians he wrote: "God works within you both to will and to act of His good pleasure . . . that ye might be blameless and innocent, the sons of God . . . filled with the fruits of righteousness, which are by Jesus Christ, unto the glory and praise of God."[7]

(6) Writing to the Corinthians again he wrote: "I will be a Father unto you and you shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty. Having therefore these promises, dearly

[1]Gal. iv. 5. [2]Gal. iv. 6. [3]Gal. v. 25. [4]I Thess. iv. 3, 7. [5]II Thess. ii. 12-13. [6]I Cor. i. 30, 8. [7]Phil. ii. 13, 15; i. 11.

beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from all defilements of flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God: for God who commanded the light to shine out of darkness has shone in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ."[8]

(7) Writing to the Romans he wrote: "The Spirit beareth witness with our spirit that we are children of God, and if children then heirs—heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ. For whom He foreknew, He also ordained to be conformed to the image of His Son."[9]

(8) In *Hebrews*, through the analogies of the sacrifices in the temple, the doctrine is the same: We are sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all . . . for by one offering has He perfected for ever those who are sanctified —of which the Holy Ghost also is a witness.[10]

(9) To Timothy he wrote from Macedonia: "God our Saviour will have all men to be saved and come to a knowledge of the truth, and the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ was exceeding abundant with faith and love which is in Christ Jesus."[11]

(10) To Titus he wrote: "The kindness and love of God our Saviour toward man appeared not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to His mercy has He saved us by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which He shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Saviour that being set right in His eyes by grace we should be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life."[12]

(11) The same doctrine is put clearly in *Colossians*: "The Father hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light. God would make known what is the riches of the glory of the mystery among the Gentiles; which is Christ in you, the hope of glory, whom we preach, warning every man and teaching every man in all wisdom that we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus."[13]

[8] II Cor. vi. 18; vii. 1; iv. 6. [9] Rom. viii. 16, 17, 29. [10] Heb. x. 10, 14-15.
[11] I Tim. ii. 4; i. 14. [12] Titus iii. 4-7. [13] Col. i. 12, 27-28.

Such then had been the undeviating view of the purpose and design of God for the Christian. He was to state it most clearly of all in the final epistle he wrote for his converts: Eph. i. 3-12.

(12) "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in the heavenly things in the Christ, just as He has chosen us in Him before the foundation of the world that we should be holy and immaculate in His sight in love, having predestined us for the adoption of children through Jesus Christ for Himself according to the good pleasure of His will to the praise of the glory of His grace by which He made us gracious in the beloved. In whom we have redemption through His blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of His grace in which He has been plentifully generous to us in all wisdom and prudence, having made known to us the mystery of His will, according to the good pleasure which He purposed in Himself, that in the dispensation of the fulness of times He might gather together all things both those of heaven, and those of earth, in one in Christ, in whom also we have obtained an inheritance, being predestined according to the purpose of Him who worketh all things after the counsel of His own will that we should be to the praise of His glory."

(13) Writing to Timothy at the very last he said: "God has saved us with a holy calling, not according to our works, but according to His own purpose and grace which was given us in Christ Jesus."[14]

(14) He associated salvation with delightful courtesy. "Let every one of us please his neighbour for his good to edification",[15] he said. "I please all men in all things, not seeking my own advantage but the advantage of many",[16] he claimed. "Walk worthy of the Lord unto all pleasing." Such was his ideal for the Lycus valley.[17] This courtesy was to be consummated in taste for pure, beautiful, and honourable things.[18]

[14] II Tim. i. 9. [15] Rom. xv. 2. [16] I Cor. x. 33. [17] Col. i. 10. [18] Col. iv. 6.

APPENDIX VI

ST. PAUL'S EVANGEL

WHAT THEN WAS THE MYSTERY HIDDEN FROM THE BEGINning of the world which Paul set out to announce as his evangel? It was a scheme of God in relation not only to the souls of men but to all He had created: to lead each and all to their consummation in Himself.

But God Himself was a mystery dwelling in inaccessible light as Three Persons: a Father of glory, realising His perfection in the Eternal Generation of His Son, a generation which was completed in the meeting of these two perfections in a third and mysterious person, a Spirit of Love.

From His eternal existence in the heavenly order, God had seen the falling away of both angel and man: men could be restored only when the Divine, having mingled with them in all the travail and sorrow that had come with evil into creation, had raised them up with and into Himself.

What then was to be the mode of restoration? It was first the choice of a peculiar people who were to be prepared for it by the gift of faith, by promises, by a covenant, by an august Law, and by prophecies and revelations pointing to a kingly redeemer, the Christ. And this Christ was no other than the very Son of God, begotten before the day star in the womb of the morning, and by whom the mystery of the Divine had given to void and nothingness the form of creation. The hope of Israel was to be fulfilled in nothing less than in being taken into God through the Son.

He, emptying Himself of His splendour in the heavens, took the nature of man (and indeed of creation) into Himself. That He should ratify, perfect and fulfil the Law already given, that He should relate it to all law and all life, that He should manifest in its fulness the significance of sacrifice by

coming under the judgment passed on man's disobedience to law, by taking the curse on Himself, He was one not only with man but with his sin; He died the death that the Law, not unjustly, passed on the worst of men. Here God reached out to men at their most miserable and made atonement to the uttermost. Christ died. But this was the supreme proof that God, as love, sought for unity with man. So much did He love the world.

But Christ having died to meet sin, yet lived to raise creation to God. Having overcome the sharpness of death, He rose again with the essence and nature of created things, with the soul and body of man. Thus He glorified them; He raised them above the thrones and dominations of the unseen to the majesty on high and He endowed them with His Spirit.

Just as He had made faith the preparation for His promises, so He gave faith as the means of partaking in His life. Faith was a supernatural power and strength which made first the mind, then the heart, then the life of believers one with Him in His whole work of redemption. It thus set them right in His eyes. It operated on them through mysteries which established them in Himself, and made them sharers in His death and resurrection. Essential to these mysteries was still faith; the faithful were made cells of Christ's tissue, in His Church which was the fulfilment of Himself in His relation to the world, and which, in one assembly of the living and the dead, rose with Him to glory in the heavenly order. The life of the Church was a transforming life, not only changing men to saints, not only giving men holiness, but providing the means by which creation, as a whole, is prepared to meet the Christ in His transforming splendour, as He makes a new heaven and a new earth. It was a life transformed by the Holy Spirit indwelling. It was a new creation, nourished by holy mysteries.

Here then is the theme which Paul called now his announcement, now his evangel, now his mystery. It was a transforming light which vibrated through the heart and will, to irradiate

life with flashes of discovery, and then with powers which were divine. It was not merely a faith, but it was a hope of proceeding from gift to gift towards wealth immeasurable; thirdly, it made men sharers in the magnetic system which drew men and things together in order as it drew all together to the perfect centre. When hope and faith have met their consummation, love will still remain.

There was one word for this gift which came into the souls of men to make them perfect in the Church. This word was grace. As it was given to men to share with one another, it was peace. It led them onwards and inwards, through hopes ever richer, to mysteries more and more brilliant till the children of faith became like to that for which they hoped. It changed them from glory to glory as by the Spirit of the Lord. It united them with Him and with one another in one Body in the fulness of love.

This then is the true light: this is the abundant life. Of this theme Paul never wearies: it meets us at every turn of his writings. He keeps telling us—in compound words he created to express the newness of his idea—that we are to be of one body with the Christ, to suffer with Him, to be crucified with Him, to rise again with Him, to be made alive with Him, to continue in life with Him, to be of one form with Him, to be glorified with Him, to be enthroned with Him, and to reign with Him. We do this by living in holiness in His Church. On these interlocking ideas of grace, of holiness, and of the Church—through grace—Paul insists with the iteration of a tireless confidence.

In his Epistles alone, excluding the less direct evidence of both *Acts* and *Hebrews*, he uses the words "holy" and "holiness" 95 times; the word "grace" 90 times; the word "Church" 60 times; he uses the expression "in the Lord" 50 times; "in Christ" or "in the Christ" 34 times; "in Christ Jesus" 48 times, and returns to the thought saying "in whom"

or "in Him" another 29 times: the sum is 164. And his references to the "Spirit" are 72.

Take the average of his 80 chapters, then the idea of the Church occurs in three-quarters of the chapters, the idea of holiness or sanctification in every one, that of grace in every one, that of the Spirit in almost every one—and the idea of being *in the Christ* twice in *each.*

Well might Paul say that "through Him, and in Him and for Him are all things". He was the original cause of their existence: He was the power sustaining them in His existence: He was the purpose to which all grow and move by grace which is itself the gift of His Spirit.

Such in its simplest outlines was the combination of metaphysics, mysticism and theology which, uniting the Word and the Sacrament, was the embassy of grace.

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